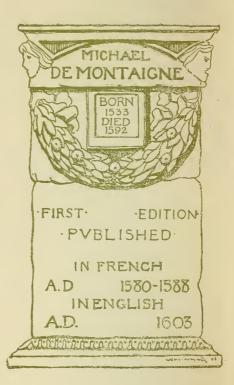
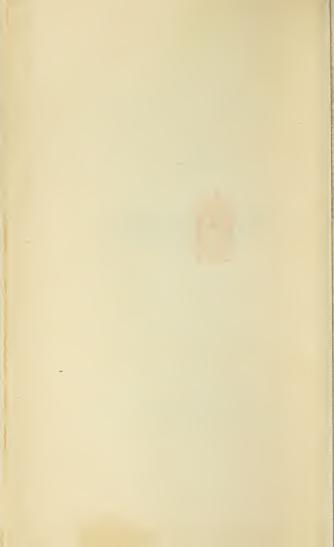




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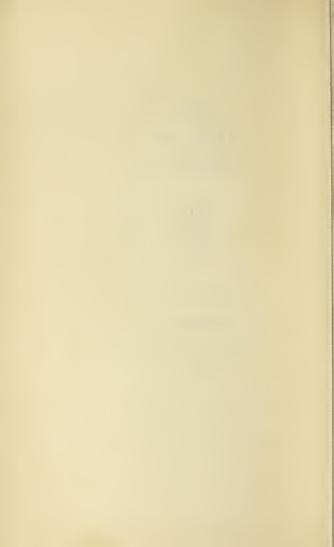




THE TEMPLE CLASSICS



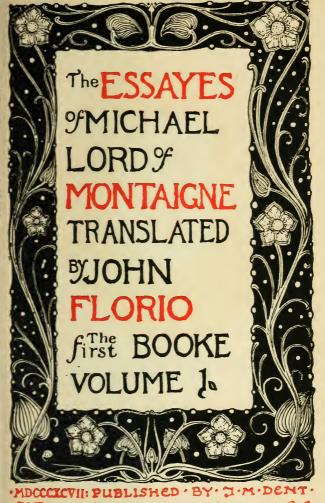
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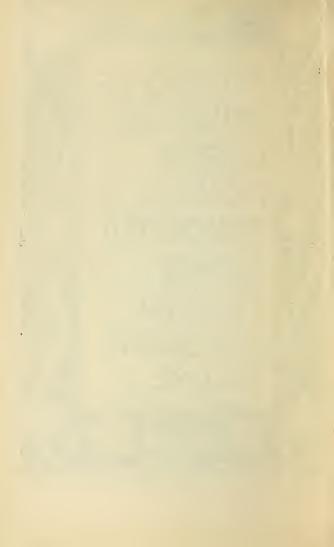






mohel de motargne





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The remaining chapters of the First Book will constitute the second volume of the present edition

THE AUTHOR TO

THE READER

READER, loe here a well-meaning Booke. It doth at the first entrance forewarne thee, that in contriving the same, I have proposed unto my selfe no other than a familiar and private end: I have no respect or consideration at all, either to thy service, or to my glory: my forces are not capable of any such desseigne. I have vowed the same to the particular commodity of my kinsfolks and friends: to the end, that losing me (which they are likely to doe ere long) they may therein find some lineaments of my conditions and humours, and by that meanes reserve more whole, and more lively foster the knowledge and acquaintance they have had of me. Had my intention beene to forestal and purchase the worlds opinion and favour, I would surely have adorned my selfe more quaintly, or kept a more grave and solemne march. I desire therein to be delineated in mine owne genuine, simple and ordinarie fashion, without contention, art or study; for it is my selfe I pourtray. My imperfections shall therein be read to the life, and my naturall forme discerned, so farre-forth as publike reverence hath permitted me. For if my fortune had beene to have lived among those nations, which yet are said to live under the sweet liberty of Natures first and uncorrupted lawes, I assure thee, I would most willingly have pourtrayed my selfe fully and naked. Thus gentle Reader my selfe am the groundworke of

my booke: It is then no reason thou shouldest
employ thy time about so frivolous and
vaine a Subject. Therefore farewell. From Montaigne,
the first of March.
1580.

THE

ESSAYES OF

MICHAEL LORD OF MONTAIGNE

The first Booke

CHAP. I

By divers meanes men come unto a like end

THE most usuall way to appease those minds How to we have offended (when revenge lies in appease offended of their mercy) offended their hands, and that we stand at their mercy) is, by submission to move them to commiseration and pitty: Neverthelesse, courage, constancie, and resolution (meanes altogether opposite) have sometimes wrought the same effect. Edward the black Prince of Wales (who so long governed our Country of Guienne, a man whose conditions and fortune were accompanied with many notable parts of worth and magnanimitie) having beene grievously offended by the Limosins, though he by maine force tooke and entred their Citie, could by no meanes be appeased, nor by the wailefull out-cries of all sorts of people (as of

of Villemur, sir Hugh de la Roche. Roger Beaufort

sir John men, women, and children) be moved to any pitty, they prostrating themselves to the common slaughter, crying for mercy, and humbly submitting themselves at his feet, untill such time as in triumphant manner passing thorow their Citie, he perceived three French Gentlemen, who alone, with an incredible and undaunted boldnesse, gainstood the enraged violence, and made head against the furie of his victorious armie. The consideration and respect of so notable a vertue, did first abate the dint of his wrath, and from those three began to relent, and shew mercy to all the other inhabitants of the said towne. Scanderbeg, Prince of Epirus, following one of his souldiers, with purpose to kill him, who by all means of humilitie, and submisse entreatie, had first assaied to pacifie him, in such an unavoidable extremitie, resolved at last, resolutely to encounter him with his sword in his hand. This resolution did immediately stay his Captains fury, who seeing him undertake so honourable an attempt, not only forgave, but received him into grace and favour. This example may haply, of such as have not knowne the prodigious force and matchlesse valour of the said Prince, admit another interpretation. The Emperour Conradus, third of that name, having besieged Guelphe, Duke of Bavaria, what vile or base satisfaction soever was offered him, would yeeld to no other milder conditions, but only to suffer such Gentlewomen as were with the Duke in the Citie (their honours safe) to issue out of the Towne afoot, with such things as they could carry about them.

They with an unrelenting courage advised and The resolved themselves (neglecting all other riches or jewels) to carry their husbands, their children, and the Duke himselfe, on their backs: The Bavaria, Emperour perceiving the quaintnesse of their 1140 device, tooke so great pleasure at it, that hee wept for joy, and forthwith converted that former inexorable rage, and mortall hatred he bare the Duke, into so milde a relenting and gentle kindnesse, that thence forward he entreated both him and his with all favour and courtesie. Either of these wayes might easily perswade mee: for I am much inclined to mercie, and affected to mildnesse. So it is, that in mine opinion, I should more naturally stoope unto compassion, than bend to estimation. Yet is pitty held a vicious passion among the Stoicks. They would have us aid the afflicted, but not to faint, and co-suffer with them. These examples seeme fittest for mee, forsomuch as these minds are seene to be assaulted and environed by these two meanes, in undauntedly suffering the one, and stooping under the other. It may peradventure be said, that to yeeld ones heart unto commiseration, is an effect of facility, tendernesse, and meeknesse: whence it proceedeth, that the weakest natures, as of women, children, and the vulgar sort are more subject unto it. But (having contemned teares and wailings) to yeeld unto the onely reverence of the sacred Image of vertue, is the effect of a couragious and imployable minde, holding a masculine and constant vigour, in honour and affection. Notwithstanding, amaze-

captains Phyton

The ment and admiration may in lesse generous minds Theban worke the like effect. Witnesse the Thebanes, who having accused and indited their Captaines, as of a capitall crime, forsomuch as they had continued their charge beyond the time prescribed them, absolved and quit Pelopidas of all punishment, because he submissively yeelded under the burden of such objections, and to save himselfe, imployed no other meanes, but suingrequests, and demisse intreaties; where on the contrary, Epaminondas boldly relating the exploits atchieved by him, and with a fierce and arrogant manner upbraiding the people with them, had not the heart so much as to take their lots into his hands, but went his way, and was freely absolved; the assembly much commending the stoutnesse of his courage. Dionysius the elder, after long-lingering and extreme difficulties, having taken the Citie of Reggio, and in it the Captaine Phyton, (a worthy honest man) who had so obstinately defended the same, would needs shew a tragicall example of revenge. First, he told him, how the day before, he had caused his sonne and all his kinsfolkes to be drowned. To whom Phyton, stoutly out-staring him, answered nothing, but that they were more happy than himselfe by the space of one day. Afterward he caused him to be stripped, and by his executioners to be taken and dragged thorow the Citie most ignominiously, and cruelly whipping him, charging him besides with outragious and contumelious speeches. All which notwithstanding, as one no whit dismayed, he ever

shewed a constant and resolute heart; and with Man is a a cheerefull and bold countenance went on still, wonderloudly recounting the honourable and glorious wavering cause of his death, which was, that he would subject never consent to yeeld his Country into the hands of a cruell tyrant, menacing him with an imminent punishment of the Gods. Dionysius plainly reading in his Souldiers lookes, that in lieu of animating them with braving his conquered enemie, they in contempt of him, and scorne of his triumph, seemed by the astonishment of so rare a vertue, to be moved with compassion, and inclined to mutinie, yea, and to free Phyton from out the hands of his Sergeants or Guard, caused his torture to cease, and secretly sent him to be drowned in the sea. Surely, man is a wonderfull, vaine, divers, and wavering subject: it is very hard to ground any directly-constant and uniforme judgement upon him. Behold Pompey, who freely pardoned all the Citie of the Mamertines, (against which he was grievously enraged) for the love of the magnanimitie, and consideration of the exceeding vertue of Zeno, one of their fellow - citizens, who tooke the publike fault wholly upon himselfe, and desired no other favour, but alone to beare the punishment thereof; whereas Syllaes host having used the like vertue in the Citie of Perugia, obtained nothing, neither for himselfe, nor for others. And directly against my first example, the hardiest amongst men, and so gracious to the vanquished, Alexander the great, after many strange difficulties, forcing the Citie of Gaza,

Alexan- encountred by chance with Betis, that comder and manded therein, of whose valour (during the siege) he had felt wonderfull and strange exploits, being then alone, forsaken of all his followers, his armes all-broken, all-besmeared with bloud and wounds, fighting amongst a number of Macedonians, who pell-mell laid still upon him; provoked by so deare a victorie, (for among other mishaps he had newly received two hurts in his body) said thus unto him; Betis, thou shalt not die as thou wouldest: for make account thou must indure all the torments may possibly bee devised or inflicted upon a caitife wretch, as thou art. But he, for all his enemies threats, without speaking one word, returned only an assured, sterne, and disdainefull countenance upon him; which silent obstinacie Alexander noting, said thus unto himselfe: What? would hee not bend his knee? could be not utter one suppliant voyce? I will assuredly vanquish his silence, and if I cannot wrest a word from him, I will at least make him to sob or groane. And converting his anger into rage, commanded his heeles to bee throughpierced, and so all alive with a cord through them, to be torne, mangled, and dismembred at a carts-taile. May it be, the force of his courage, was so naturall and peculiar unto him, that because he would no-whit admire him, he respected him the lesse? or deemed he it so proper unto himselfe, that in his height, he could not without the spight of envious passion, endure to see it in an other? or was the naturall violence of his rage incapable of any opposition? surely, had it

received any restraint, it may be supposed, that The sack in the ransacking and desolation of the Citie of of Thebes Thebes, it should have felt the same; in seeing so many Worthies lost, and valiant men put to the sword, as having no meanes of publike defence; for above six thousand were slaine and massacred, of which not one was seene, either to run away, or beg for grace. But on the contrary, some here and there seeking to affront, and endevouring to check their victorious enemies, urging and provoking them to force them die an honourable death. Not one was seene to yeeld, and that to his last gaspe did not attempt to revenge himselfe, and with all weapons of dispaire, with the death of some enemie, comfort and sweeten his owne miserie. Yet could not the affliction of their vertue find any ruth or pitie, nor might one day suffice to glut or asswage his revengefull wrath. This butcherous slaughter continued unto the last drop of any remaining bloud; where none were spared but the unarmed and naked, the aged and impotent, the women and children; that so from amongst them, they might get thirtie thousand slaves.

CHAP. II

Of Sadnesse or Sorrowe

NO man is more free from this passion than I, for I neither love nor regard it: albeit the world hath undertaken, as it were upon

Psamneticus

The sor- covenant, to grace it with a particular favour. rows of Therewith they adorne age, vertue, and conscience. Oh foolish and base ornament! The Italians have more properly with it's name entitled malignitie: for, it is a qualitie ever hurtfull, ever sottish; and as ever base and coward, the Stoikes inhibit their Elders and Sages to be therewith tainted, or have any feeling of it. But the Storie saith; that Psamneticus king of Ægypt, having been defeated and taken by Cambises king of Persia, seeing his owne daughter passe before him in base and vile aray, being sent to draw water from a well, his friends weeping and wailing about him (he with his eyes fixed on the ground, could not be moved to utter one word), and shortly after beholding his sonne led to execution, held still the same undaunted countenance: but perceiving a familiar friend of his haled amongst the captives, he began to beat his head, and burst forth into extreame sorrow. This might well be compared to that which one of our Princes was lately seene to doe, who being at Trent, and receiving newes of his elder brothers death; but such a brother as on him lay all the burthen and honour of his house; and shortly after tidings of his yonger brothers decease, who was his second hope; and having with an unmatched countenance and exemplar constancie endured these two affronts; it fortuned not long after, that one of his servants dying, he by this latter accident suffered himselfe to be so far transported, that quitting and forgetting his former resolution, he

so abandoned himselfe to all manner of sorrow Some and griefe, that some argued, only this last mis- sorrows chance had toucht him to the quicke: but verily for tears the reason was, that being otherwise full, and over-plunged in sorrow, the least surcharge brake the bounds and barres of patience. The like might (I say) be judged of our storie, were it not it followeth, that Cambises inquiring of Psamneticus, why he was nothing distempered at the misfortune of his sonne and daughter, he did so impatiently beare the disaster of his friend: It is, answered he, Because this last displeasure may be manifested by weeping, whereas the two former exceed by much, all meanes and compasse to bee expressed by teares. The invention of that ancient Painter might happily fit this purpose, who in the sacrifice of Iphigenia, being to represent the griefe of the by-standers, according to the qualitie and interest each one bare for the death of so faire, so young and innocent a Lady, having ransacked the utmost skill and effects of his art, when he came to the Virgins father, as if no countenance were able to represent that degree of sorrow, he drew him with a vaile over his face. And that is the reason why our Poets faine miserable Niobe, who first having lost seven sonnes, and immediately as many daughters, as one over-burthened with their losses, to have been transformed into a stone;

> Diriguisse malis: -Ovid. Metam. vi. 303. And grew as hard as stone, By miserie and moane.

And some sorrows benumb Thereby to expresse this mournfull silent stupiditie, which so doth pierce us, when accidents surpassing our strength orewhelme us. Verily the violence of a griefe, being extreme, must needs astonie the mind, and hinder the liberty of her actions. As it hapneth at the sudden alarum of some bad tidings, when we shall feele our selves surprised, benummed, and as it were deprived of all motion, so that the soule bursting afterward forth into teares and complaints, seemeth at more ease and libertie, to loose, to cleare and dilate it selfe.

Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est,

—Virg. Aen. Xi. 151.

And scarce at last for speach, By griefe was made a breach.

In the warres which king Ferdinando made against the widow of John king of Hungaria, about Buda; a man at armes was particularly noted of all men, forsomuch as in a certaine skirmish he had shewed exceeding prowesse of his body, and though unknowne, being slaine, was highly commended and much bemoaned of all: but yet of none so greatly as of a Germane Lord, called Raisciac, as he that was amased at so rare vertue: his body being covered and had off, this Lord, led by a common curiositie, drew neere unto it, to see who it might be, and having caused him to be disarmed, perceived him to be his owne sonne; which knowne, did greatly augment the compassion of all the camp: he only without framing word, or closing his eyes,

but earnestly viewing the dead body of his sonne, Passion stood still upright, till the vehemencie of his sad also sorrow, having suppressed and choaked his vitall silences spirits, fell'd him starke dead to the ground.

Chi puo dir com' egli arde è in picciol fuoco, —Рет. р. i. Son. 140.

He that can say how he doth frie In pettie-gentle flames doth lie,

say those Lovers that would lively represent an intolerable passion.

misero quod omnes Eripit sensus mihi; Nam simul te Lesbia aspexi, nihil est super mî

Quod loquar amens. Lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus Flamma dimanat, sonitu suopte Tinniunt aures, gemina teguntur

Lumina nocte. - CATUL. Epig. xlviii. 5.

miserably from me

This bereaves all sense: for I can no sooner Eie thee my sweet heart, but I wot not one word to speake amazed.

Tongue-tide as in trance, while a sprightly thin

Flowes in all my joynts, with a selfe-resounding Both my eares tingle, with a night redoubled Both mine eies are veild.

Nor is it in the liveliest, and most ardent heat of the fit, that wee are able to display our plaints and perswasions, the soule being then aggravated with heavie thoughts, and the body suppressed and languishing for love. And thence is sometimes engendered that casuall faintnes, which so Some unseasonably surpriseth passionate Lovers, and have died that chilnesse, which by the [power of an exof joy treame heate doth seize on them in the verie midst of their joy and enjoying. All passions that may be tasted and digested, are but meane and slight.]

Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.
—Sen. Hip. Act. ii. Scena 2.

Light cares can freely speake, Great cares heart rather breake.

The surprize of an unexpected pleasure astonieth us alike.

Ut me conspexit venientem, et Troja circum
Arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstris,
Diriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,
Labitur, et longo vix tandem tempore fatur.
—VIRG, Ænead. iii, 306.

When she beheld me come, and round about Senselesse saw Trojan armes, she stood afraid Stone-still at so strange sights: life heat flew out. She faints: at last, with long pause thus she said.

Besides the Romane Ladie, that died for joy to see her sonne returne alive from the battell of Cannæ, Sophocles and Dionysius the Tyrant, who deceased through over-gladnes: and Talva, who died in Corsica, reading the newes of the honours the Roman Senate had conferred upon him: It is reported that in our age, Pope Leo the tenth having received advertisement of the taking of the Citie of Millane, which he had so exceedingly desired, entred into such excesse of joy, that he fell into an ague, whereof he

shortly died. And for a more authenticall testi- Monmonie of humane imbecillitie, it is noted by our taigne Ancients, that Diodorus the Logician, being little surprized with an extreme passion or apprehension of shame, fell downe starke dead, because neither in his Schoole, nor in publique, he had beene able to resolve an argument propounded unto him. I am little subject to these violent passions. I have naturally a hard apprehension, which by discourse I daily harden more and more.

subject to passion

CHAP. III

Our affections are transported beyond our selves

THOSE which still accuse men for ever gaping after future things, and go about to teach us, to take hold of present fortunes, and settle our selves upon them, as having no hold of that which is to come; yea much lesse than we have of that which is already past, touch and are ever harping upon the commonest humane error, if they dare call that an error, to which Nature her selfe, for the service of the continuation of her worke, doth addresse us, imprinting (as it doth many others) this false imagination in us, as more jealous of our actions, than of our knowledge. We are never in our selves, but beyond. Feare, desire, and hope, draw us ever towards that which is to come, and remove our

Know sense and consideration from that which is, to thyself amuse us on that which shall be, yea when we shall be no more. Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius (Sen. Epi. 98). A minde in suspense what

is to come, is in a pittifull case.

This notable precept is often alleaged in Plato. Follow thy businesse and know thy selfe; Each of these two members, doth generally imply all our duty; and likewise enfolds his companion. He that should doe his businesse, might perceive that his first lesson is, to know what he is, and what is convenient for him. And he that knoweth himselfe, takes no more anothers matters for his owne, but above all other things, loveth and correcteth himselfe, rejecteth superfluous occupations, idle imaginations, and unprofitable propositions. As if you grant follie what it desireth, it will no-whit be satisfied; so is wisdome content with that which is present, and never displeased with it selfe. Epicurus doth dispense with his [s]age touching the foresight and care of what shal insue. Amongst the lawes that regard the deceased, that which ties the actions of Princes to be examined when they are dead, seemes to me verie solid. They are companions, if not masters of the lawes: That which justice could not worke on their heads, it is reason it effect upon their reputation, and goods of their successors: things wee many times preferre before our lives. It is a custome brings many singular commodities unto nations that observe it, and to be desired of all good Princes: who have cause to complaine that the memorie of the wicked is

used as theirs. Wee owe a like obedience and Respect subjection to all Kings; for it respects their due to office: but estimation and affection, we owe it worth only to their vertue. If they be unworthy, wee rank are to endure them patiently, to conceale their vices, and to aid their indifferent actions with our commendations, as long as their authoritie hath need of our assistance, and that ought to be ascribed unto politike order. But our commerce with them being ended, there is no reason we should refuse the unfolding of our felt wrongs unto justice and our libertie. And specially to refuse good subjects, the glory to have reverently and faithfully served a master, whose imperfections were so well knowne unto them: exempting posteritie from so profitable an example. And such as for the respect of some private benefit or interest, doe wickedly embrace the memorie of an unworthy Prince, doe particular justice at the charge of publike justice. Titus Livius speaketh truly, where he saith, that the speech of men brought up under a royaltie is ever full of vaine ostentations, and false witnesses; every man indifferently extolling the King, to the furthest straine of valour and soveraigne greatnesse. The magnanimitie of those two Souldiers may be reproved, one of which being demanded of Nero, why he hated him, answered him to his teeth; I loved thee whilest thou wast worthy of love, but since thou becamest a parricide, a fire-brand, a Juglar, a Player, and a Coach-man, I hate thee, as thou deservest. The other being asked, wherefore he sought to kill him, answered, Because

Aristotle I finde no other course to hinder thy uncessant hath an outrages and impious deeds. But can any man, oar in that hath his senses about him, justly reprove every the publike and generall testimonies that since his death have beene given, and so shall be for ever, both against him and all such like reprobates, of his tyrannicall and wicked demeanours? I am sorrie that in so sacred a policie as the Lacedemonian was, so fained and fond a ceremonie at the death of their Kings was ever devised and brought in use. All their confederates and neighbours, all the slave-Hellotes, men and women pell-mell, for a testimonie of their griefe and sorrow, did mangle and gash their foreheads, and in their out-cries and lamentations exclaimed, that their deceased King, howsoever he had lived, was and had beene the best Prince that ever they had, ascribing in order the commendations due unto desert, and to the last and latter ranke, what belongs unto the first merit. Aristotle that hath an oare in every water, and medleth with all things, makes a question about Solons speech, who saith, that no man can truly be counted happy before his death, Whether he that lived and died according to his wish, may be named happy, whether his renowne be good or ill, and whether his posteritie be miserable or no. Whilest wee stirre and remove, wee transport our selves by preoccupation wheresoever wee list: but no sooner are wee out of being, but wee have no communication at all with that which is. And it were better to tell Solon, that never man is

happy then, since he never is so, but when he The dead is no more.

treated as though alive

-Quisquam Vix radicitus è vita se tollit, et ejicit : Sed facit esse sui quiddam super inscius ipse, Nec removet satis à projecto corpore sese, et Vindicat. - LUCRET. Rer. nat. iii. 912.

Scarce any rids himselfe of life so cleere, But leaves unwitting some part of him heere: Nor frees or quits himselfe sufficiently From that his body which forlorne doth lie.

Bertrand of Gelsquin died at the siege of the castle of Rancon, neere unto Puy in Avergne: the besieged yeelding afterward, were forced to carry the keies of the Castle, upon the deceased [body] of the Captaine. Bartholomew of Alviano, Generall of the Venetian forces dying in their service and wars about Brescia, and his bodie being to be transported to Venice, through the territory of Verona, which then was enemie unto them, the greatest part of the army thought it expedient to demand a safe conduct for their passage of those of Verona, to which Theodoro Trivulcio stoutly opposed himselfe, and chose rather to passe it by maine force, and to hazard the day, saying it was not convenient, that he who in his life time had never apprehended feare of his enemies should now being dead, seeme to feare them. Verily in like matters, by the lawes of Greece, hee that required a dead body of his enemies, with intent to bury the same, renounced the victory, Belief in the power of relics and might no more erect any trophy of it: and he who was so required, purchased the title of honour and gaine. So did Nicias lose the advantage hee had clearely gained of the Corinthians; and contrariwise, Agesilaus assured that, hee doubtfully had gotten of the Bætians. These actions might bee deemed strange, if in all ages it were not a common-received opinion, not only to extend the care of our selves, beyond this life, but also to beleeve, that heavenly favours doe often accompany us unto our grave, and continue in our posterity. Whereof there are so many examples (leaving our moderne a part) that I need not wade farre into it.

Edward the first King of England, in the long wars he had with Robert King of Scotland, having by triall found how greatly his presence advantaged the successe of his affaires, and how he was ever victorious in any enterprise he undertooke in his owne person; when hee died, bound his sonne by solemne oath, that being dead he should cause his body to be boyled, untill the flesh fell from the bones, which he should cause to be interred, and carefully keeping the bones, ever carry them about him, whensoever hee should happen to have wars with the Scots: As if destiny had fatally annexed the victory unto his limmes. John Zisca, who for the defence of Wickliffs opinions so much troubled the state of Bohemia, commanded that after his death his body should be flead, and a drum made of his skin, to be carried and sounded in all the wars against his enemies: deeming the sound

Bayard

of it would be a meanes to continue the ad- The vantages, which in his former warres hee had death of obtained of them. Certaine Indians did like- Captain wise carry the bones of one of their Captaines in the skirmishes they had with the Spaniards, in regard of the good successe hee had, whilest hee lived, against them: And other nations of that new-found world, doe likewise carry the bodies of such worthy and fortunate men with them, as have died in their battels, to serve them in stead of good fortune and encouragement. The first examples reserve nothing else in their tombes, but the reputation acquired by their former atchievements: but these will also adjoyne unto it the power of working. The act of Captaine Bayart is of better composition, who perceiving himselfe deadly wounded by a shot received in his body, being by his men perswaded to come off and retire himselfe from out the throng, answered, he would not now so neere his end, begin to turne his face from his enemie: and having stoutly foughten so long as he could stand, feeling himselfe to faint and stagger from his horse, commanded his steward to lay him against a tree, but in such sort, that he might die with his face toward the enemie; as indeed hee did. I may not omit this other example, as remarkable for this consideration, as any of the precedent. The Emperour Maximilian, great grand-father to Philip now King of Spaine, was a Prince highly endowed with many noble qualities, and amongst others with a well-nigh matchmodesty

Ex- lesse beauty and comelinesse of body; but tremes in with other customes of his, hee had this one much contrarie to other Princes, who to dispatch their weightiest affaires make often their close stoole, their regall Throne or Councelchamber, which was, that hee would not permit any groome of his chamber (were hee never so neere about him) to see him in his inner chamber, who if he had occasion but to make water, would as nicely and as religiously withdraw himselfe as any maiden, and never suffer so much as a Physitian, much lesse any other whatsoever, to see those privie parts that all in modestie seeke to keepe secret and unseene. My selfe, that am so broad-mouthed and lavish in speeches, am notwithstanding naturally touched with that bashfulnesse. And unlesse it bee by the motion of necessity or of voluptuousnesse, I never willingly imparted those actions and parts (which custome willeth to bee concealed) to the view of any creature. I endure more compulsion, than I deeme befitting a man, especially of my profession. But hee grew to such superstition, that by expresse words in his last will and Testament, hee commanded, that being dead, hee should have linnen-flops put about them. Hee should by codicile have annexed unto it, that hee who should put them on, might have his eies hood-winckt. The instruction which Cyrus giveth his children, that neither they nor any other should either see or touch his body, after the breath were once out of it; I ascribe it unto some motive

of devotion in him. For both his historian and Too himselfe, amongst many other notable quali-ties they are endued with, have throughout all care over the course of their life seemed to have a singular funerals respect and awfull reverence unto religion. That story displeased mee very much, which a nobleman told me of a kinsman of mine (a man very famous and well known both in peace and warre) which is, that dying very aged in his court, being much tormented with extreme pangs of the stone, hee with an earnest and unwearied care, employed all his last houres, to dispose the honour and ceremony of his funerals, and summoned all the nobilitie that came to visit him, to give him assured promise to be as assistants, and to convey him to his last resting place. To the very same Prince, who was with him at his last gasp, he made very earnest suit, he would command all his houshold to wait upon him at his interment, inforcing many reasons, and alleaging divers examples, to prove that it was a thing very convenient, and fitting a man of his qualitie: which assured promise when he had obtained, and had at his pleasure marshalled the order how they should march, he seemed quietly and contentedly to yeeld up the ghost. I have seldome seene a vanitie continue so long. This other curiositie meere opposite unto it (which to prove I need not labour for home-examples) seemeth in my opinion cosen-german to this, that is, when one is ever ready to breathe his last, carefully and passionately to endevour how to reduce the

in obsequies

Let cus- convoy of his obsequies unto some particular and tom rule unwonted parcimonie, to one servant and to one lanterne. I heare the humour and appointment of Marcus Emilius Lepidus commended, who expresly forbade his heires to use those ceremonies about his interment, which in such cases were formerly accustomed. Is it temperance and frugalitie, to avoid charge and voluptuousnesse, the use and knowledge of which is imperceptable unto us? Loe here an easie reformation, and of small cost. Were it requisite to appoint any, I would be of opinion, that as well in that, as in all other actions of mans life, every man should referre the rule of it to the qualitie of his fortune. And the Philosopher Lycon did wisely appoint his friends to place his body where they should thinke it fittest and for the best: and for his obsequies, they should neither be superfluous and over-costly, nor base and sparing. For my part, I would wholly relie on custome, which should dispose this ceremonie, and would yeeld my selfe to the discretion of the first or next into whose hands I might chance to fall. Totus hic locus est contemnendus in nobis, non negligendus in nostris: All this matter should be despised of us, but not neglected of ours. And religiously said a holy man; Curatio funeris, conditio sepulturæ, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum (Aug. Civ. Dei, i. 12, verb. apost. ser. 32). The procuration of funerals, the maner of buriall, the pomp of obsequies, are rather comforts to the living, than helps to the dead. Therefore Socrates answered Criton, who at the houre

of his death asked him how he would be buried: Care of Even as you please, said he. Were I to meddle the further with this subject, I would deeme it more for their gallant to imitate those who yet living and breath- dead ing, undertake to enjoy the order and honour of their sepulchres, and that please themselves to behold their dead countenance in Marble. Happy they that can rejoyce and gratifie their senses with insensibilitie, and live by their death! A little thing would make me conceive an inexpiable hatred against all popular domination; although it seeme most naturall and just unto me; when I call to minde that inhumane injustice of the Athenians, who without further triall or remission, yea without suffering them so much as to reply or answer for themselves, condemned those noble and worthy Captaines, that returned victoriously from the sea-battell, which they (neere the Iles Arginusa) had gained of the Lacedemonians; the most contested, bloodie and greatest fight the Grecians ever obtained by sea with their owne forces: forsomuch as after the victory, they had rather followed those occasions, which the law of warre presented unto them, for their availe, than to their prejudice staid to gather and bury their dead men. And the successe of Diomedon makes their ruthlesse execution more hatefull, who being a man of notable and exemplar vertue, both military and politike, and of them so cruelly condemned; after he had heard the bloudy sentence, advancing himselfe forward to speake, having fit opportunitie and plausible audience; he, I say, in stead of excusing himSuperstition may be too costly

selfe, or endevouring to justifie his cause, or to exasperate the evident iniquity of so cruell a doome, expressed but a care of the Judges preservation, earnestly beseeching the Gods to turne that judgement to their good, praying that for want of not satisfying the vowes which hee and his companions had vowed in acknowledgement and thanksgiving for so famous a victory, and honourable fortune, they might not draw the wrath and revenge of the Gods upon them, declaring what their vowes were. And without more words, or urging further reasons, couragiously addressed himselfe to his execution. But fortune some yeares after punished him alike, and made him taste of the verie same sauce. For Chabrias, Captaine Generall of their sea-fleet, having afterward obtained a famous victory of Pollis, Admirall of Sparta, in the Ile of Naxos, lost absolutely the benefit of it, and onely contented with the day (a matter of great consequence for their affaires) fearing to incurre the mischiefe of this example, and to save a few dead carcasses of his friends, that floated up and downe the sea, gave leasure to an infinite number of his living enemies, whom he might easily have surprized to saile away in safety, who afterward made them to purchase their importunate superstition, at a deere-deere rate.

Quæris, quo jaceas, post obitum, loco? Quo non nata jacent.—Sen. Troas. chor. ii. 30.

Where shall you lie when you are dead? Where they lye that were never bred: This other restores the sense of rest unto a body beath without a soule.

Death secretly related unto life

Neque sepulchrum, quo recipiat, habeat portum corporis. Ubi, remissa humana vita, corpus requiescat à malis. —Ctc. Tusc. Qu. i. Enni.

To turne in as a hav'n, have he no grave, Where life left, from all griefe he rest may have.

Even as Nature makes us to see, that many dead things have yet certaine secret relations unto life. Wine doth alter and change in sellers, according to the changes and alterations of the seasons of its vineyard. And the flesh of wilde beasts and venison doth change qualitie and taste in the powdering-tubs, according to the nature of living flesh, as some say that have observed it.

CHAP. IV

How the soule dischargeth her passions upon false objects, when the true faile it

A GENTLEMAN of ours exceedingly subject to the gowt, being instantly solicited by his Physitions, to leave all manner of saltmeats, was wont to answer pleasantly, that when the fits or pangs of the disease tooke him, hee would have some body to quarell with; and that crying and cursing, now against Bolonie-

passion takes

The soul sausege, and sometimes by railing against salt in its neats-tongues, and gammons of bakon, he found some ease. But in good earnest even as the arme being lifted up to strike, if the stroke hit not, but fall void, wee feele some paine in it, and many times strike it out of joynt; and that to yeeld our sight pleasant, it must not be lost and dispiersed in the vast ayre, but ought rather to have a limited bound to sustaine it by a reasonable distance.

> Ventus ut amittit vires, nisi robore densæ Occurrant silvæ, spatio diffusus inani.-Lucan, iii. 362.

As windes in emptie ayre diffus'd, strength lose, Unlesse thick-old-growne woods of their strength oppose.

So seemes it that the soule moved and tossed, if she have not some hold to take, loseth it selfe in it selfe, and must ever be stored with some object, on which it may light and worke. Plutarch saith fitly of those who affectionate themselves to Monkies and little Dogges, that the loving part which is in us, for want of a lawfull hold, rather than it will be idle, doth forge a false and frivolous hold unto it selfe. And wee see that the soule in her passions doth rather deceive it selfe, by framing a false and fantasticall subject unto it selfe, yea against her owne conceit, than not to worke upon something. So doth their owne rage transport beasts, to set upon the stone or weapon that hath hurt them; yea and sometimes with irefull teeth to revenge

themselves against themselves, for the hurt or hold of divers things

Pannonis haud aliter post ictum sævior ursa
Cui jaculum parva Lybis amentavit habena,
Se rotat in vulnus, telumque irata receptum
Impedit, et secum fugientem circuit hastam.
—LUCAN, vi. 220.

Even so the wound-enraged Austrian beare, On whom a Moore hath thirl'd his slinged speare, Wheeles on her wound, and raging bites the dart, Circling that flies with her, and cannot part.

What causes doe wee not invent, for the crosses that happen unto us? bee it right, or wrong: what take we not hold of, to have something to strive withall? It is not the golden locks thou tearest, nor the whitenesse of the breast, which thou through vexation so cruelly dost smite, that have by meanes of an unluckie bullet, lost thy deere-beloved brother: on something else shouldest thou wreake thy selfe. Livius speaking of the Romane army in Spaine, after the losse of two great Captaines that were brethren. Flere omnes repente, et offensare capita (Liv. dec. iii. lib. 5): They all wept and often beat their heades. It is an ordinarie custome: And the Philosopher Byon was very pleasant with the king, that for griefe tore his haire, when he said, Doth this man thinke, that baldnesse will asswage his griefe? who hath not seene some to chew and swallow cardes, and wel-nigh choake themselves with bales of dice, only to be revenged for the losse of some money? Xerxes whipped the Sea, and writ a

Defiance cartell of defiance to the hill Athos: And Cyrus of the for many daies together ammused his whole gods armie to be revenged of the river Gyndus, for the feare he tooke passing over the same: And Caligula caused a verie faire house to be defaced, for the pleasure his mother had received in the same. When I was young, my countrimen were wont to say, That one of our neighbour-Kings, having received a blow at Gods hand, sware to be revenged on him, and ordained, that for ten yeares space no man should pray unto him, nor speak of him, nor (so long as he were in authority,) beleeve in him. By which report, they doe not so much publish the sottishnesse, as the ambitious glorie, peculiar unto that nation of whom it was spoken. They are vices that ever goe together: But in truth such actions encline rather unto selfe-conceit, than to fondnes. Augustus Casar having beene beaten by a tempest on the sea, defied the God Neptune, and in the celebration of the Circensian games, that so he might be avenged on him, he caused his image to be removed from out the place, where it stood amongst the other Gods; wherein he is also lesse excusable, than the former, and lesse than hee was afterward, when having lost a battell, under Quintilius Varus in Germanie, all in a rage and desperate, he went up and downe beating his head against the walls, mainly crying out: Oh! Varus, restore me my Souldiers againe: For, those exceed, all follie, (forsomuch as impietie is joyned unto it) that will wreake themselves against God, or fortune, as if she had

eares subject to our batterie: In imitation of the Thracians, who when it lightens or thunders, begin with a Titanian revenge to shoot against heaven, thinking by shooting of arrowes to draw God to some reason. Now, as saith that ancient Poet in *Plutarch*,

The King of Macedon ruined by a parly

Point ne se faut corroucer aux affaires, Il ne leur chaut de toutes noz choleres.—PLUTAR. We ought not angry be at what God dooth, For he cares not who beares an angry tooth.

But we shall never raile enough against the disorder and unrulinesse of our minde.

CHAP. V

Whether the Captaine of a place besieged ought to sallie forth to parlie

LUCIUS MARCIUS Legate of the Romans, in the warre against Perseus King of Macedon, desirous to get so much time, as he wanted to prepare his army, gave out some motives of accord, wherewith the King inveagled, yeelded unto a truce for certaine daies: by which meanes he furnished his enemie with opportunitie and leasure to arme himselfe: wherof proceeded the Kings last ruine and over-throw. Yet is it, that the elders of the Senate, mindfull of their forefathers customes, condemned this practice as an

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Conquer by valour, not by craft

enemie to their ancient proceedings, which was, said they, to fight with vertue, and not with craft, nor by surprises, or stratagems by night, nor by set-flights, and unlookt-for approches, never undertaking a warre, but after it was proclaimed, yea many times after the appointed houre and place of the battell. With this conscience did they send backe to Pirrhus his traitorous Physitian, and to the Phalisci their disloyall schoole - master. These were true Romane proceedings, and not Grecian policies, nor Punike wiles, with whom to vanquish by force is lesse glorious than to conquer by treacherie. To deceive may serve for the instant, but hee only is judged to be overcome, that knowes he was not vanquished by craft or deceit, nor by fortune or chance, but by meere valour, betweene troupe and troupe, in an overt and just warre. It appeareth manifestly by the speech of these good men, they had not yet received this sentence.

> ——Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? —VIRG. Æneid. ii. 390.

Deceit, or vertue, either, in foes, it skill's not whether.

The Achaians, saith Polibius, detested all manner of deceit in their warres, deeming that no victorie, where their enemies courages were not quelled. Eam vir sanctus, et sapiens sciat esse victoriam veram, que salva fide, et integra dignitate parabitur. A wise and religious man will know that is victorie indeed, which shall be attained

with credit unimpeached, and dignitie untainted, Declarasaith another.

tion precedes war

Vos ne velit, an me regnare hera, quid-ve ferat fors, Virtute experiamur.

-Cic. Offic. i. ex Enn. de Pyrrh.

If fortune will have you to raigne, or me, And what chance bring's, let vertues triall be.

In the Kingdome of Ternates, among those nations, which wee so full-mouthed, call Barbarous, the custome beareth, that they never undertake a warre, before the same be denounced; thereunto adding an ample declaration of the meanes they have to employ therein, what manner, and how many men, what munition, and what Armes either offensive or defensive: which done, they also establish as a law, that without reproach or imputation, it shall be lawfull for any man, in their warres, to use what advantage soever, may in any sort further or helpe them to vanquish. The ancient Florentines were so far from desiring any advantage of their enemies by sudden surprises, that a moneth before they could bring their Armie into the field, they would give them warning, by the continuall sound of their common bell, which they called Martinella. As for us, who are lesse superstitious, and deeme him to have the honour of the warre, that hath the profit of it, and according to Lisander, say, that Where the Lions-skinne will not suffice, wee must adde a scantling of the Foxes; the most ordinarie occasions of surprises are drawne from this practice, and as wee say, there is no

should himself sally

No ruler time, wherein a Captaine ought to be more warie and circumspect to looke about him, than that of parlies, and treaties of accord: And therefore is it a common rule in the mouth of all our parley modern men of warre, that the Governour or Commaunder of a besieged place, ought never to sallie forth himselfe to parlie. In the time of our forefathers, the same was cast in the teeth, (as a reproach) unto the Lord of Montmord and Assigni, who defended Mouson, against the Earle of Nanseaw. Yet in this case it were excusable in him, that should so sallie out, that the assurance and advantage, might still be on his side. As did the Earle Guido Rangoni in the Citie of Reggio (if credit may be given to Bellay; for Guicciardin affirmeth, that it was himselfe) when as the Lord of Escute, comming to parlie made his approaches unto it; for he did so little forsake his fort, that whilest they were in parlie, a commotion being raised, the Lord of Escute and the troupes which came with him, in that tumult found himselfe to be the weakest, so that Alexander Trivultio was there slaine, and hee deeming it the safest way, was forced to follow the Earle, and on his word to yeeld himselfe to the mercie and shelter of blowes, into the Citie. Eumenes in the Citie of Nera, being urged by Antigonus, that besieged him, to sallie forth to parlie, alleaging that there was reason he should come to him, sith he was the better man, and the stronger: after he had made this noble answer, I will never thinke any man better than my selfe, so long as I can hold

or rule my sword; nor did he ever yeeld untill Yet some Antigonus had delivered him Ptolomey, his owne have nephew for a pledge, whom he required. Yet prospered shall wee see some to have prospered well in doing sallying foorth of their holdes to parlie, upon the word and honor of the assailant; witnes Henrie of Vaulx, a knight of Champaigne, who being beleagred by the English-men in the Castle of Commercie, and Bartholmew of Bones, who at that siege commaunded as Chiefe having caused the greatest part of the Castle to be undermined, so that there wanted nothing but the giving of fire, utterly to subvert the same, under the ruines of it, summoned the said Henrie to issue out, and for his owne good to parlie with him, which he did, accompanied but with three more, who manifestly seeing the evident ruine, wherein he was undoubtedly like to fall, acknowledged himselfe infinitely beholding to his enemie, unto whose discretion, after he had yeelded together with his troup, and that fire was given to the Mine, the maine props of the Castle failing, it was utterly overthrowne and carried away. I am easily perswaded to yeeld to other mens words and faith, but hardly would I doe it, when I should give other men cause to imagine, that I had rather done it through despaire and want of courage, than of a free and voluntary choise, and confidence in his honestie and well-meaning.

CHAP. VI

That the houre of parlies is dangerous

Do not trust an armistice until signed

NOTWITHSTANDING I saw lately, that those of Musidan, a place not farre from mee, who with others of their partie, were by our forces compelled to dislodge thence, exclaimed, they were betraid, because during the speech of accord, and the treatie yet continuing, they had beene surprized and defeated; which thing might haply in other ages have had some apparence of truth; but, as I say, our manner of proceeding in such cases, is altogether differing from these rules, and no man ought to expect performance of promise from an enemie, except the last seale of bond be fully annexed thereunto, wherein notwithstanding is then much care and vigilancie required, and much adoe shall be found. And it was ever a dangerous counsell to trust the performance of word or oath given unto a Citie, that yeelds unto gentle and favourable composition, and in that furie to give the needie, bloudthirstie, and prey-greedy Souldier free entrance into it, unto the free choise and licence of a victorious armie. Lucius Æmilius Regillus a Romane Prætor, having lost his time in attempting by force to take the Citie of the Phocens by reason of the singular prowesse, which the inhabitants shewed, in stoutly defending themselves, covenanted to receive them as friends unto the people of Rome, and to enter their

Citie as a place confederate, removing all feare A saying of hostile-action from them. But to the end of Cleohee might appeare more glorious and dreadfull, menes having caused his armie to enter with him, doe what he might, he could not bridle the rage of his Souldiers; and with his owne eies saw most part of the Citie ransacked and spoiled: the rights of covetousnesse and revenge supplanting those of his authoritie and militarie discipline. (Cleomenes was wont to say, that What hurt soever a man might doe his enemies in time of warre, was beyond justice, and not subject unto it, as well towards the Gods as towards men: who for seven dayes having made truce with those of Argos, the third night, whilest they were all asleepe mistrusting no harme, hee charged and overthrew them, alleaging for his excuse, that in the truce no mention had beene made of nights.) But the Gods left not his perfidious policie unrevenged: For during their enter-parlie and businesse about taking hostages, the Citie of Casilinum was by surprise taken from him: which happened in the times of the justest Captaines, and of the most perfect Romane discipline: For it is not said, that time and place serving, wee must not make use and take advantage of our enemies foolish oversight, as we doe of their cowardise. And verily warre hath naturally many reasonable privileges to the prejudice of reason. And here failes the rule; Neminem id agere, ut ex alterius prædetur inscitia (Cic. Offic. iii.): That no man should endevour to prey upon another mans ignorance. But I wonder

Of broken of the scope that Xenophon allowes them, both parlies by his discourse, and by divers exploits of his perfect Emperour: an Author of wonderfull consequence in such things, as a great Captaine and a Philosopher, and one of Socrates chiefest Disciples, nor doe I altogether yeeld unto the measure of his dispensation. The Lord of Aubigny besieging Capua, after he had given it a furious batterie, the Lord Fabritius Colonna, Captaine of the towne, having from under a bastion or skonce begunne to parlie, and his men growing negligent and carelesse in their offices and guard, our men did suddenly take the advantage offered them, entered the towne, overranne it, and put all to the sword. But to come to later examples, yea in our memorie, the Lord Julio Romero at Yvoy, having committed this oversight to issue out of his holde, to parlie with the Constable of France, at his returne found the Towne taken, and himselfe jack-out-of-doores. But that wee may not passe unrevenged, the Marques of Pescara beleagering Genova, where Duke Octavian Fregoso commanded under our protection, and an accord between them having so long been treated, and earnestly solicited, that it was held as ratified, and upon the point of conclusion, the Spaniards being entred the Towne, and seeing themselves the stronger, tooke their opportunitie, and used it as a full and compleate victorie: and since at Lygny in Barroe, where the Earle of Brienne commanded, the Emperour having besieged him in person, and Bartholemy Lieutenant to the saide Earle being come foorth of his hold to parlie, was no sooner out, whilest A fair they were disputing, but the Towne was sur- fight for the prised, and he excluded, They say,

enemy

Fu il vincer sempre mai laudabil cosa, Vincasi per fortuna ò per ingegno. -Arist. cant. xv. stan. I.

To be victorious, evermore was glorious, Be we by fortune or by wit victorious.

But the Philosopher Chrysippus would not have beene of that opinion; nor I neither, for he was wont to say, That those who run for the masterie may well employ all their strength to make speed, but it is not lawfull for them to lay hands on their adversaries, to stay him, or to crosse leggs, to make him trip or fall. And more generously answered Alexander the great, at what time Polypercon perswaded him to use the benefit of the advantage which the darknesse of the night afforded him, to charge Darius; No, no, said hee, it fits not mee to hunt after night-stolne victories: Malo me fortunæ pæniteat, quam victoriæ pudeat (CURT. iv.). I had rather repent me of my fortune, than be ashamed of my victorie.

Atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Orodem Sternere, nec jacta cæcum dare cuspide vulnus: Obvius adversoque occurrit, seque viro vir Contulit, haud furto melior, sed fortibus armis. -VIRG. Aen. x. 732. Mezent.

He deign'd not to strike downe Orodes flying, Or with his throwne-launce blindely-wound him running:

But man to man afront himselfe applying, Met him, as more esteem'd for strength than cunning

CHAP. VII

That our intention judgeth our actions

but not the spirit

The letter THE common saying is, that Death acquits us of all our bonds. I know some that have taken it in another sence. Henry the seventh, King of England, made a composition with Philip son to Maximilian the Emperour or (to give him a more honorable title) father to the Emperour Charles the fifth, that the said Philip should deliver into his hands, the Duke of Suffolke, his mortall enemie, who was fled out of England, and saved him selfe in the Low countries, alwayes provided the King should attempt nothing against the Dukes life; which promise notwithstanding, being neere his end, he expresly by will and testament commanded his succeeding-sonne, that immediately after his decease, he should cause him to be put to death. In the late tragedie, which the Duke of Alva presented us withall at Brussels, on the Earles of Horne and Egmond, were many remarkable things, and worthy to be noted: and amongst others, that the said Count Egmond upon whose faithfull word and assurance, the Earle of Horne was come in and yeelded himselfe to the Duke of Alva, required very instantly to be first put to death, to the end his death might acquit and free him of the word and bond, which he ought and was engaged for, to the said Earle of Horne. It seemeth that death hath no whit discharged

The our own

the former of his word given, and that the second, Only our without dying, was quit of it. We cannot be will is tied beyond our strength and meanes. reason is, because the effects and executions are not any way in our power, and except our will, nothing is truely in our power: on it onely are all the rules of mans dutie grounded and established by necessitie. And therefore Count Egmond, deeming his minde and will indebted to his promise, how beit the power to effect it, lay not in his hands, was no doubt cleerely absolved of his debt and dutie, although he had survived the Count Horne. But the King of England failing of his word by his intention, cannot be excused, though hee delaide the execution of his disloyaltie untill after his death. No more than Herodotus his Mason who during his naturall life, having faithfully kept the secret of his Master the King of Egypts treasure, when he died discovered the same unto his children. I have in my dayes seene many convicted by their owne conscience, for detaining other mens goods, yet by their last will and testament to dispose themselves, after their decease to make satisfaction. This is nothing to the purpose. Neither to take time for a matter so urgent, nor with so small interest or shew of feeling, to goe about to establish an injurie. They are indebted somewhat more. And by how much more they pay incommodiously and chargeably, so much the more just and meritorious is their satisfaction. Penitence ought to charge, yet doe they worse, who reserve the revealing of

not death to reveal hidden

Leave some heinous conceit or affection towards their neighbour, to their last will and affection, having whilest they lived ever kept it secret. And seeme to have little regard of their owne honour, by provoking the partie offended against their owne memory, and lesse of their conscience, since they could never for the respect of death cancell their ill-grudging affection, and in extending life beyond theirs. Oh wicked and ungodly judges, which referre the judgement of a cause to such time as they have no more knowledge of causes! I will as neere as I can prevent, that my death reveale or utter any thing, my life hath not first publikely spoken.

CHAP. VIII

Of Idlenesse

" A S we see some idle-fallow grounds, if they be fat and fertile, to bring foorth store and sundrie roots of wilde and unprofitable weeds, and that to keepe them in ure we must subject and imploy them with certaine seeds for our use and service. And as wee see some women, though single and alone, often to bring foorth lumps of shapelesse flesh, whereas to produce a perfect and naturall generation, they must be manured with another kinde of seed: So is it of mindes, which except they be busied about some subject, that may bridle and keepe them under,

they will here and there wildely scatter themselves through the vaste field of imaginations."

To be everywhere, is to be nowhere

Sicut aquæ tremulum labris ubi lumen ahenis Sole repercussum, aut radiantis imagine Lunæ, Omnia pervolitat latè loca, jámque sub auras Erigitur, summique ferit laquearia tecti. —VIRG, Aen, viii, 22,

As trembling light reflected from the Sunne, Or radiant Moone on water-fild brasse lavers, Flies over all, in aire upraised soone, Strikes house-top beames, betwixt both strangely wavers,

And there is no folly, or extravagant raving, they produce not in that agitation.

— veluti ægri somnia, vanæ Finguntur species.—Hor. Art. Poet. vii. Like sicke mens dreames, that feigne Imaginations vaine,

The minde that hath no fixed bound, will easily loose it selfe: For, as we say, To be everiewhere, is to be no where.

Quisquis ubique habitat, Maxime, nusquam habitat.
—MART. vii. Epig. 72, 6.

Good sir, he that dwels every where, No where can say, that he dwels there.

It is not long since I retired my selfe unto mine owne house, with full purpose, as much as lay in me, not to trouble my selfe with any businesse, but solitarily and quietly to weare out the remainder of my well-nigh-spent life; where me thought I could doe my spirit no greater

taigne gives his spirit full

Mon- favour, than to give him the full scope of idlenesse, and entertaine him as he best pleased, and withall, to settle him-selfe as he best liked: scope which I hoped he might now, being by time become more setled and ripe, accomplish very easily: but I finde,

> Variam semper dant otia mentem .- Lucan, iv. 704. Evermore idlenesse, Doth wavering mindes addresse.

That contrariwise playing the skittish and loose-broken jade, he takes a hundred times more cariere and libertie unto himselfe, than hee did for others; and begets in me so many extravagant Chimeraes, and fantasticall monsters, so orderlesse, and without any reason, one hudling upon an other, that at leasure to view the foolishnesse and monstrous strangenesse of them, I have begun to keepe a register of them, hoping, if I live, one day to make him ashamed, and blush at himselfe.

CHAP. IX Of Lyers

THERE is no man living, whom it may lesse beseeme to speake of memorie, than my selfe, for to say truth, I have none at all: and am fully perswaded that no mans can be so weake and forgetfull as mine. All other parts are in me common and vile, but touching memorie, I Monthinke to carrie the prise from all other, that have taigne it weakest, nay and to gaine the reputation of it, besides the naturall want I endure (for truely of his considering the necessitie of it, Plato hath reason memory to name it A great and mighty Goddesse). In my countrie, if a man will imply that one hath no sense, he will say, such a one hath no memorie: and when I complaine of mine, they reprove me, and will not beleeve me, as if I accused my selfe to be mad and senselesse. They make no difference betweene memorie and wit; which is an empairing of my market: But they doe me wrong, for contrariwise it is commonly seene by experience, that excellent memories do rather accompany weake judgements. Moreover they wrong me in this (who can do nothing so well as to be a perfect friend) that the same words which accuse my infirmitie, represent ingratitude. From my affection they take hold of my memorie, and of a naturall defect, they infer a want of judgement or conscience. Some will say, he hath forgotten this entreaty or request, or that promise, he is not mindfull of his old friends, he never remembred to say, or doe, or conceale this or that, for my sake. Verily I may easily forget, but to neglect the charge my friend hath committed to my trust, I never do it. Let them beare with my infirmitie, and not conclude it to be a kind of malice; which is so contrarie an enemie to my humor. Yet am I somewhat comforted. First, because it is an evill, from which I have chieflie

has some advantages

A bad drawne the reason to correct a worse mischiefe, memory that would easily have growen upon me, that ass some is to say, ambition; which defect is intolerable in them that meddle with worldly negotiations. For as divers like examples of natures progresse, say, she hath happily strengthned other faculties in me, according as it hath growne weaker and weaker in me, and I should easily lay downe and wire-draw my minde and judgement, upon other mens traces, without exercising their proper forces, if by the benefit of memorie, forren inventions and strange opinions were present with me. That my speech is thereby shorter: For the Magazin of Memorie is peradventure more stored with matter, than is the store-house of Invention. Had it held out with me, I had ere this wearied all my friends with pratling: the subjects rouzing the meane facultie I have to manage and imploy them, strengthning and wresting my discourses. It is pitie; I have assayed by the trial of some of my private friends: according as their memory hath ministred them a whole and perfect matter, who recoile their narration so farre-backe, and stuff-it with so many vaine circumstances, that if the story bee good, they smoother the goodnesse of it: if bad, you must needs either curse the good fortune of their memorie, or blame the misfortune of their judgement. And it is no easie matter, being in the midst of the cariere of a discourse, to stop cunningly, to make a sudden period, and to cut it off. And there is nothing whereby the cleane strength of a horse is more knowne, than to make

received

a readie and cleane stop. Among the skilfull I Forgetful see some, that strive, but cannot stay their race. of injuries Whilest they labour to finde the point to stop their course, they stagger and falter, as men that faint through weaknesse. Above all, old men are dangerous, who have onely the memorie of things past left them, and have lost the remembrance of their repetitions. I have heard some very pleasant reports become most irkesome and tedious in the mouth of a certaine Lord, forsomuch as all the by-standers had many times beene cloyed with them. Secondly, (as said an ancient Writer) that, I doe not so much remember injuries received. I had need have a prompter as Darius had, who not to forget the wrong he had received of the Athenians, whensoever he sate downe at his table, caused a page to sing unto him, Sir, remember the Athenians, and that the places or bookes which I read-over, do ever smile upon me, with some new noveltie. It is not without reason, men say, that he who hath not a good and readie memorie, should never meddle with telling of lies, and feare to become a liar. I am not ignorant how the Grammarians make a difference betweene speaking untrue and lying; and say that to speake untruly, is to speake that which is false, but was reputed true; and that the definition of the Latin word, mentiri, whence the French word, mentir, is derived, which in English is to lie, implieth and meaneth to goe against ones conscience: and by consequence it concerneth onely those, who speake contrary to that which they know, of whom I speake.

of liars

Now, these, either invent, seale, stampe and all, dictions or else they disguise and change a true ground. When they disguise or change, if they be often put to the repetition of one thing, it is hard for them to keepe still in one path, and very strange if they lose not themselves: because the thing, as it is, having first taken up her stand in the memory, and there by the way of knowledge and witting, imprinted it-selfe, it were hard it should not represent it selfe to the imagination, displacing and supplanting falshood, which therein can have no such footing, or setled fastnesse: and that the circumstances of the first learning, still diving into the minde, should not cause it to disperse the remembrance of all false or bastardizing parts gotten together. Where they altogether invent, forsomuch as there is no [contrarie] impression, to front their falshood, they seeme to have so much the lesser feare to mistake or forget themselves, which also notwithstanding being an airie bodie, and without hold-fast, may easily escape the memorie, except it be well assured: whereof I have often (to my no small pleasure) seene the experience, at the cost of those, who professe never to frame their speech, but as best shall fit the affaires they negotiate, and as best shall please the great men they speake unto. For the circumstances to which they will subject their credit and conscience, being subject to many changes, their speech must likewise diversifie and change with them, whence it followeth that of one selfe-same subject they speak diversly, as now yellow, now

gray, to one man thus, and thus to another. Lying And if peradventure these kind of men hoard- should be up their so contrarie instructions, what becomes punished of this goodly art? Who besides, often most foolishly forget themselves, and run at random: For, what memorie shall suffice them, to remember so many different formes they have framed to one same subject? I have in my dayes seene divers that have envied the reputation of this worthy kind of wisedome, who perceive not, that if there be a reputation, there can be no effect. "Verily, lying is an ill and detestable vice. Nothing makes us men, and no other meanes keeps us bound one to another, but our word; knew we but the horror and waight of it, we would with fire and sword pursue and hate the same, and more justly than any other crime." I see all men generally busied (and that verie improperly) to punish certaine innocent errours in children, which have neither impression nor consequence, and chastice and vex them for rash and fond actions. Onely lying, and stubbornnesse somewhat more, are the faults whose birth and progresse I would have severely punished and cut off; for they grow and increase with them: and if the tongue have once gotten this ill habit, good Lord how hard, nay how impossible it is to make her leave it? whereby it ensueth, that we see many very honest men in other matters, to bee subject and enthralled to that fault. I have a good lad to my tailour, whom I never heard speak a truth; no not when it might stand him in stead of profit. If a lie had no more faces but one, as

in youth

Only one course hits the centre

truth hath, we should be in farre better termes than we are: For, whatsoever a lier should say, we would take it in a contrarie sense. the opposite of truth hath many-many shapes, and an undefinite field. The Pythagoreans make good to be certaine and finite, and evill to bee infinite and uncertaine. A thousand bywayes misse the marke, one onely hits the same. Surely I can never assure my selfe to come to a good end, to warrant an extreme and evident

danger, by a shamelesse and solemne lie.

An ancient Father saith, We are better in the companie of a knowne dogge, than in a mans societie, whose speech is unknowne to us. externus alieno non sit hominis vice (PLIN. Nat. Hist. vii. 1). A stranger to a stranger is not like a man. And how much is a false speech lesse sociable than silence? King Francis the first, vaunted himselfe to have by this meanes brought Francis Taverna, Ambassador to Francis Sforza, Duke of Millane, to a non-plus; a man very famous for his rare eloquence, and facilitie in speech, who had beene dispatched to excuse his master, toward his Majestie, of a matter of great importance, which was this. The King to keepe ever some intelligence in Italy, whence he had lately beene expelled, but especially in the Dukedome of Millane, thought it expedient to entertaine a Gentleman of his about the Duke, in effect as his Ambassador, but in apparance as a private man; who should make shew to reside there about his particular affaires, forsomuch as the Duke, who depended much more of the

Emperour (chiefely then that he was treating a The exe-mariage with his niece, daughter of the King cution of of *Denmarke*, who is at this day Dowager of Merveille Loraine) could not without great prejudice unto himselfe discover to have any correspondencie and conference with us. For which commission and purpose a Gentleman of Millane, named Merveille, then serving the King in place of one of the Quiers of his Quierie, was deemed fit. This man being dispatched with secret letters of credence, and instructions of an Ambassador, together with other letters of commendation to the Duke in favour of his particular affaires, as a maske and pretence of his proceedings, continued so long about the Duke, that the Emperour began to have some suspition of him; which as we suppose was cause of what ensued, which was, that under colour of a murther committed, the Duke one night caused the said Merveille to be beheaded, having ended his processe in two dayes. Master Francis being come to the Court, fraught with a long counterfet deduction of this storie (for the King had addressed himselfe to all the Princes of Christendome, yea and to the Duke himselfe for justice, for such an outrage committed upon his servant) had one morning audience in the Kings councell-chamber: who for the foundation of his cause having established and to that end projected many goodly and colourable apparences of the fact: namely, that the Duke his Master had never taken Merveille for other than a private gentleman, and his owne subject, and who was come thither about his

of Pope

The Am- private busines, where he had never lived under bassador other name, protesting he had never knowne him to be one of the Kings houshold, nor never heard of him, much lesse taken him for his Majesties Agent. But the King urging him with divers objections and demands, and charging him on every side, prest him so farre with the execution done by night, and as it were by stealth, that the seely man, being much entangled and suddenly surprised, as if he would set an innocent face on the matter, answered, that for the love and respect of his Majestie, the Duke his Master would have beene very loth that such an execution should have beene done by day. Heere every man may guesse whether he were taken short or no, having tripped before so goodly a nose, as was that of our King Francis the first. Pope Julius the second, having sent an Ambassador to the King of England to animate him against our foresaid King: the Ambassador having had audience touching his charge, and the King in his answer urging and insisting upon the difficultie he found and foresaw in levying such convenient forces, as should be required to withstand so mightie. and set upon so puisant a King, and alleaging certaine pertinent reasons: The Ambassador fondly and unfitly replied, that himselfe had long before maturely considered them, and had told the Pope of them. By which answer so farre from his proposition (which was with all speed, and without more circumstances to undertake and undergoe a dangerous warre) the King

of England tooke hold of the first argument Different which in effect he afterward found true, which kinds of was, that the said Ambassador, in his owne particular intent, was more affected to the French side, whereof advertising his Master, his goods were all confiscate, himselfe disgraced, and he very hardly escaped with life.

eloquence

CHAP. X

Of readie or slow speech

Onc ne furent à tous toutes graces donnes. All Gods good graces are not gone To all, or of all any one.

So doe we see that in the gift of eloquence, some have such a facility and promptitude, and that which we call utterance, so easie and at command, that at all assaies, and upon everie occasion, they are ready and provided; and others more slow, never speake any thing except much laboured and premeditated. As Ladies and daintie Dames are taught rules to take recreations and bodily exercises, according to the advantage of what they have fairest about them. If I were to give the like counsel, in those two different advantages of eloquence wherof Preachers and pleading-lawiers of our age seeme to make profession; the slow speaker in mine opinion should be the better preacher, and the other the better lawier. Forsomuch as charge

temps" of Monsieur Poyet

The of the first allowes him as much leisure as he "contre- pleaseth to prepare himselfe; moreover his cariere continueth still in one kinde without interruption: whereas the Lawyers occasions urging him still upon any accident to be ready to enter the lists: and the unexpected replies and answers of his adverse partie, do often divert him from his purpose, wher he is enforced to take a new course. Yet is it, that at the last enterview which was at Marseilles betweene Pope Clement the seventh, and Francis the first, our King, it hapned cleane contrarie, where Monsieur Poyet, a man of chiefe reputation, and all dayes of his life brought up to plead at the bar, whose charge being to make an Oration before the Pope, and having long time before premeditated and con'd the same by roat, yea, and as some report, brought it with him ready penned from Paris; the very same day it should have beene pronounced; the Pope suspecting he might haply speake something, might offend the other Princes Ambassadors, that were about him, sent the argument, which he at that time & place thought fittest to be treated of, to the King, but by fortune cleane contrarie to that which Povet, had so much studied for: So that his Oration was altogether frustrate, and he must presently frame another. But he perceiving himselfe unable for it, the Cardinall Bellay was faine to supply his place and take that charge upon him. The Lawyers charge is much harder than the Preachers: (yet in mine opinion) shall we find more passable Lawyers than commendable

Preachers, at least in France. It seemeth to be Some more proper to the mind, to have her operation orations ready and sudden, and more incident to the smell of judgement, to have it slow and considerate. But who remaineth mute, if he have no leisure to prepare himselfe, and he likewise to whom leisure giveth no advantage to say better, are both in one selfe degree of strangenesse. It is reported that Severus Cassius spake better extempore, and without premeditation. That he was more beholding to fortune, than to his diligence; that to be interrupted in his speech redounded to his profit: and that his adversaries feared to urge him, lest his sudden anger should redouble his eloquence. I know this condition of nature by experience, which cannot abide a vehement and laborious premeditation: except it hold a free, a voluntarie, and selfe pleasing course, it can never come to a good end. We commonly say of some compositions, that they smell of the oile, and of the lampe, by reason of a certaine harshnesse, and rudenesse, which long plodding labour imprints in them that be much elaborated. But besides the care of well-doing, and the contention of the minde, overstretched to her enterprise, doth breake and impeach the same; even as it hapneth unto water, which being closely pent in, through it's owne violence and abundance, can not finde issue at an open gullet. In this condition of nature, whereof I now speake, this also is joyned unto it, that it desireth not to be pricked forward by these strong passions, as the anger of Cassius (for that motion would be over-rude) it

the lamp

than his

Mon- ought not to be violently shaken, but yeeldingly taigne's solicited: it desireth to be rouzed and prickt words forward by strange occasions, both present and casuall. If it goe all alone, it doth but languish writings and loyter behinde: agitation is her life and grace. I cannot well containe my selfe in mine own possession and disposition, chance hath more interest in it than my selfe; occasion, company, yea the change of my voice, drawes more from my minde than I can finde therein, when by my selfe I [sound] and endevor to employ the same. My words likewise are better than my writings, if choice may be had in so worthlesse things. This also hapneth unto me, that where I seeke my selfe, I finde not my selfe: and I finde my selfe more by chance, than by the search of mine owne judgement. I shall perhaps have cast foorth some suttletie in writing, haply dull and harsh for another, but smooth and curious for my selfe. Let us leave all these complements and quaintnesse. That is spoken by everie man, according to his owne strength. I have so lost it, that I wot not what I would have said, and strangers have sometimes found it before me. Had I alwayes a razor about me, where that hapneth, I should cleane raze my selfe out. Fortune may at some other time make the light thereof appeare brighter unto me, than that of mid-day, and will make mee wonder at mine owne faltring or sticking in the myre.

CHAP. XI

Of Prognostications

AS touching Oracles it is very certaine, that Decline long before the comming of our Saviour of Oracles Jesus Christ, they had begun to lose their credit: for we see that Cicero laboureth to finde the cause of their declination: and these be his words: Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur non modo nostra ætate, sed jamdiu, ut nihil possit esse contemptius? (Cic. Divin. ii.). Why in like sort are not Oracles now uttered, not onely in our times, but a good while since, so as now nothing can be more contemptible? But as for other Prognostikes, that were drawne from the anatomie of beasts in sacrifice, to which Plato doth in some sort ascribe the naturall constitution of the internall members of them, of the scraping of chickins, of the flight of birds, Aves quasdam rerum augurandarum causa natas esse putamus (ID. Nat. Deor.). We are of opinion, certain birds were even bred to prognosticate some things; of thunders, of turnings and backerecourse of rivers. Multa cernunt aruspices: multa augures provident: multa oraculis declarantur: multa vaticinationibus: multa somniis: multa portentis (ID. Ib. ii.). Soothsayers see much: bird-prophets foresee as much: much is foretold by Oracles; much by prophecies; much by portentuous signes, and others, upon which antiquitie grounded most of their enterprises, as well publike as private: our religion hath abolished

to know future things

Not them. And albeit there remaine yet amongst profitable us some meanes of divination in the starres, in spirits, in shapes of the body, in dreames, and elsewhere a notable example of the mad and fond curiositie of our nature, ammusing it selfe to preoccupate future things, as if it had not enough to doe to digest the present.

-cur hanc tibi rector Olympi Sollicitis visum mortalibus addere curam, Noscant venturas ut dira per omnia clades? Sit subitum quodcunque paras, sit cæca futuri Mens hominum fati, liceat sperare timenti.-LUCAN, ii. 4, Why pleas'd it thee, thou ruler of the spheares, To adde this care to mortals care-clog'd minde, That they their miserie know, ere it appeares? Let thy drifts sudden come; let men be blinde T'wards future fate: oh let him hope that feares.

Ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit: Miserum est enim nihil proficientem angi (CIC. Nat. Deor. iii.). It is not so much as profitable for us, to know what is to come, for it is a miserable thing, a man should fret and be vexed, and do no good. Yet is it of much lesse authoritie, loe here wherefore the example of Francis Marquis of Saluzzo, hath seemed remarkable unto me: who being Lieutenant General unto Francis our King, and over all his forces, which he then had beyond the Mountaines in Italie, a man highly favoured in al our court, and otherwise infinitly beholding to the King for that very Marquisate, which his brother had forfeited: and having no occasion to doe it, yea and his minde and affections contradicting the same, suffered himselfe to be frighted and deluded (as it hath since been

Marquis Saluzzo

manifestly prooved) by the fond prognostications, Delusion which then throughout all Europe were given out of the to the advantage of the Emperor Charles the fift, and to our prejudice and disadvantage (but specially in Italy, where these foolish prædictions had so much possessed the Italians, that in Rome were laid great wagers, and much money given out upon the exchange, that we should utterly be overthrowne) that after he had much condoled, yea and complained with his secret friends, the unavoidable miseries which he foresaw prepared by the fates against the Crowne of France, and the many friends he had there, he unkindly revolted, and became a turne-cote on the Emperors side, to his intolerable losse and destruction, notwithstanding all the constellations then reigning. But was drawne unto it as a man encompassed and beset by divers passions; for having both strong castles, and all maner of munition and strength in his owne hands, the enemies armie under Antonio Leva about three paces from him, and we nothing mistrusting him, it was in his power to do worse than he did. For notwithstanding his treason, we lost neither man nor towne, except Fossan, which long after was by us stoutly contested and defended.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum Caliginosa nocte premit Deus, Ridétque, si mortalis ultra Fas trepidat .- HOR. iii. Od. XXIX. 29. Our wise God hides in pitch-darke night Of future time th' event decreed, And laughes at man, if man (affright) Feare more than he to feare bath need.

Divination of the Tuscans Ille potens sui
Lætusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse, viixi, cras vel atrâ
Nube polum pater occupato,
Vel sole puro.—41.

He of himselfe lives merily, Who each day, I have liv'd, can say, Tomorow let God charge the skie With darke clouds, or faire sun-shine-ray.

Latus in præsens animus, quod ultra est, Oderit curare.—IB. ii. Od. xvi. 25.

For present time a mery mind Hates to respect what is behind.

And those which take this word in a contrary sense are in the wrong. Ista sic reciprocantur, ut et si divinatio sit, dii sint, et si dii sint, sit divinatio (Cic. Div. i. p.). This consequence is so reciprocall, as if there be any divination, there are Gods: and if there be Gods, there is divination. Much more wisely Pacuvius.

Nam istis qui linguam avium intelligunt,
Plusque ex alieno jecore sapiunt, quâm ex suo,
Magis audiendum, quâm auscultandum censeo.—Ib. f. Pas.
Who understand what language birds expresse,
By their owne, than beasts-livers knowing lesse,
They may be heard, not hearkned to, I guesse.

This so famous art of divination of the Tuskanes grew thus. A husband-man digging very deepe into the ground, with his plough-share, saw Tages, a demy-God appeare out of it, with an infantine face, yet fraught with an aged-like wisedome. All men ran to see him, and both his words and knowledge were for many ages

after remembred, and collected, containing the Decision principles and meanes of this art. An of-spring by lot or sutable to her progresse. I would rather direct affaires by the chance of dice, than by such frivolous dreames. And truly in all commonwealths, men have ever ascribed much authoritie unto lot. Plato in the policie which he imagineth by discretion, ascribeth the deciding of many important effects unto it, and amongst other things would have marriages betweene the good to bee contrived by lot. And giveth so large privileges unto this casuall election, that he appoints the children proceeding from them to bee brought up in the countrie; and those borne of the bad to be banished and sent abroad. Notwithstanding if any of those so exiled shall by fortune happen, whilest he is growing, to show some good hope of him-selfe, that he may be revoked and sent-for backe, and such amongst the first as shall in their youth give small hope of future good to be banished. I see some that studie, plod, and glosse their Almanackes, and in all accidents alleage their authoritie. A man were as good to say, they must needs speake truth and lies. Quis est enim qui totum diem jaculans, non aliquando conlineet? (Cic. Div. ii.). For who is he that shooting all day, sometimes hits not the white? I thinke not the better of them, though what they say proove sometimes true. It were more certaine, if there were either a rule or a truth to lie ever. Seeing no man recordeth their fables, because they are ordinarie and infinit; and their predictions are

Offerings made to be of credit, because they are rare, of incredible and prodigious. So answered Diaescaped goras surnamed the Atheist (being in Samothrace) to him, who in shewing him divers vowes and offrings hanging in the Temple, brought thither by such as had escaped shipwracke, said thus unto him: You that thinke the Gods to have no care of humane things, what say you by so many men saved by their grace and helpe? Thus is it done, answered he: Those which were drowned farre exceeding their number, are not here set-forth. Cicero saith, That amongst all other Philosophers that have avowed and acknowledged the Gods, onely Xenophanes the Colophonian hath gone about to root out all maner of divination. It is so much the lesse to be wondred at, if at any time we have seene some of our Princes mindes to their great damage, relie upon such like vanities. I would to God, I had with mine owne eyes seene those two wonders, mentioned in the booke of Joachin the Abbat of Calabria, who foretold all the Popes that should ensue, together with their names and shapes: And that of Leo the Emperor, who fore-spake all the Emperors and Patriarkes of Greece. This have I seene with mine owne eyes, that in publike confusions, men amazed at their owne fortune, give themselves head-long, as it were to all maner of superstition, to search in heaven the causes and ancient threats of their ill-lucke; and in my time are so strangely suc-cessefull therein, as they have perswaded me, that it is an ammusing of sharpe and idle wits, that such as are inured to this subtletie, by fold- The Dæing and unfolding them, may in all other writings mon of be capable to finde out what they seeke-after. But above all, their dark, ambiguous, fantasticall, and propheticall gibrish, mends the matter much, to which their authors never give a plaine sense, that posterity may apply what meaning and construction it shall please unto it. The Damon of Socrates was peradventure a certaine impulsion [of] will, which without the advice of his discourse presented it selfe unto him. In a minde so well purified, and by continuall exercise of wisedome and vertue so wel prepared, as his was, it is likely, his inclinations (though rash and inconsiderate) were ever of great moment, and worthie to be followed. Every man feeleth in himselfe some image of such agitations, of a prompt, vehement and casuall opinion. It is in me to give them some authoritie, that affoord so little to our wisedome. And I have had some, equally weake in reason, and violent in perswasion and disswasion (which was more ordinarie to Socrates) by which I have so happily and so profitably suffered my selfe to be transported, as they might perhaps be thought to containe some matter of divine

Socrates



inspiration.

CHAP. XII

Of Constancie

tions of fortitude

Defini- THE law of resolution and constancie implieth not, we should not, as much as lieth in our power shelter our selves from the mischiefes and inconveniences that threaten us, nor by consequence feare, they should surprise us. Contrariwise, all honest meanes for a man to warrant himselfe from evils are not onely tolerable, but commendable. And the part of constancie is chiefly acted, in firmely bearing the inconveniences, against which no remedie is to be found. So that, there is no nimblenesse of bodie, nor wealding of hand-weapons, that we will reject, if it may in any sort defend us from the blow, meant at us. Many most warlike nations in their conflicts and fights, used retreating and flight as a principall advantage, and shewed their backs to their enemie much more dangerously than their faces. The Turkes at this day retaine something of that humour. And Socrates in Plato doth mocke at Laches, because he had defined fortitude, to keepe herselfe steadie in her rancke against her enemies; What, saith hee, were it then cowardise to beat them in giving them place? And alleageth Homer against him, who commendeth in Eneas his skill in flying and giving ground. And because Laches being better advised, avoweth that

leading to victory

custome to be amongst the Scithians, and gene- Feigned rally amongst all horsemen, he alleageth further flights unto him the example of the Lacedemonian footmen (a nation above all other used to fight on foot) who in the battell of Platea, unable to open and to put to rowt the Persian Phalanx, advised themselves to scatter and put themselves backe, that so by the opinion of their flight, they might if they should pursue them, rush in upon them, and put that so combined-masse to rout. By which meanes they gained the victorie. Touching the Scithians, it is reported, that when Darius went to subdue them, he sent their King many reprochfull speeches, for so much as hee ever saw him retire and give ground before him, and to avoid the maine battell. To whom Indathirsez (for so was his name) answered, that, They did it not for feare of him, nor any other man living, but that it was the fashion of his nation to march thus: as having neither cities, nor houses, nor manured land to defend, or to feare their enemies should reape any commoditie by them. But if hee had so great a desire to feed on them, he might draw neerer to view the place of their ancient Sepulchers, and there hee should meet with whom to speake his belly-full. Notwithstanding when a man is once within reach of cannon-shot, and as it were point-blancke before them, as the fortune of warre doth diverse times bring men unto, it ill beseemeth a resolute minde to start-aside, or be daunted at the threat of a shot, because by the violence and suddennesse thereof wee deeme it inevitable: and there are

Playing some, who by lifting up of a hand, or stooping the duck their head, have sometimes given their fellowes cause of laughter: yet have we seene, that in the voyage, the Emperour Charles the fifth made against us in Provence, the Marquis of Guasto, being gone out to survey the citie of Arles, and shewne himselfe out of a winde-mill, under colour of which he was come somewhat neere the Towne, he was discovered by the Lord of Bonevall, and the Seneshall of Agenois, who were walking upon the Theatre Aux arenes (so called in French because it is full of sand) who shewing him to the Lord of Villiers, Commissarie of the Artillerie, hee mounted a culverin so levell, that had not the Marquis perceived the fire, and so started aside, it was constantly affirmed, hee had beene shot through the body. Likewise not many yeeres before, Lorence of Medicis, Duke of Urbin, and father to the Queene-mother of France, besieging Mondolphe, a place in Italie, in the province name Vicariate, seeing fire given to a piece that stood upright upon him, stooped his head, and well befell him that he plaide the ducke, for otherwise the bullet, which went right over, and within a little of his head, had doubtlesse shot him through the paunch. But to say truth, I will never thinke these motions were made with discourse, for what judgement can you give of an aime, either high or low in a matter so sudden? It may rather be thought that fortune favoured their feare: and which an other time might as well bee a meane to make them fall into the cannons-mouth, as to avoid

the same. I cannot chuse, if the cracke of a The musket doe suddenly streeke mine eares, in a Stoicks place where I least looke for it, but I must needs start at-it: which I have seene happen to men of better sort than my selfe. Nor doe the Stoickes meane, that the Soule of their wisest man in any sort resist the first visions and sudden fantasies, that surprise the same: but rather consent that, as it were unto a naturall subjection, he yeelds and shrinks unto the loud clattering and roare of heaven, or of some violent downefall; for example-sake, unto palenesse, and contraction. So likewise in other passions, alwayes provided, his opinion remaines safe and whole, and the situation of his reason, admit no tainting or alteration whatsoever: and hee no whit consent to his fright and sufferance. Touching the first part; the same hapneth to him, that is not wise, but farre otherwise concerning the second. For the impression of passions doth not remaine superficiall in him: but rather penetrates even into the secret of reason, infecting and corrupting the same. He judgeth according to them, and conformeth himselfe to them. Consider precisely the state of the wise Stoicke:

and sudden fright

Mens immota manet, lachrymæ volvuntur inanes. -VIRG. Aen. iv. 449.

His minde doth firme remaine, Teares are distill'd in vaine.

The wise Peripatetike doth not exempt himselfe from perturbations of the mind, but doth moderate them.

CHAP. XIII

Of Ceremonies in the enterview of Kings

Abolish vain ceremonies at home THERE is no subject so vaine, that deserveth not a place in this rapsodie. It were a notable discourtesie unto our common rules, both towards an equall, but more toward a great person, not to meete with you in your house, if he have once warned you that he will come: And Margaret Queene of Navarre, was wont to say to this purpose, That it was a kinde of incivilitie in a gentleman, to depart from his house, as the fashion is, to meet with him that is comming to him, how worthy soever he be: and that it more agreeth with civilitie and respect, to stay for him at home, and there to entertaine him: except it were for feare the stranger should misse his way: and that it sufficeth to companie and wait upon him, when he is going away againe. As for me, I oftentimes forget both these vaine offices; as one that endevoureth to abolish all maner of ceremonies in my house. Some will be offended at it, what can I doe withall? I had rather offend a stranger once, then myselfe everie day; for it were a continuall subjection. To what end doe men avoid the servitude of Courts, and entertaine the same in their owne houses? Moreover it is a common rule in all assemblies, that hee who is the meaner man, commeth first to the place appointed, forsomuch as it belongs to the better

of France

man to be staid-for, and waited upon by the The good other. Neverthelesse we saw that at the en- manners terview, prepared at Merceilles betweene Pope Clement the seventh, and Francis the first, King of France, the King having appointed all necessarie preparations, went him-selfe out of the Towne, and gave the Pope two or three dayes leasure, to make his entrie into it, and to refresh himselfe, before he would come to meet him there. Likewise at the meeting of the said Pope with the Emperour at Bologna, the Emperour gave the Pope advantage and leasure to be first there, and afterward came himselfe. It is (say they) an ordinarie ceremonie at enterparlies betweene such Princes, that the better man should ever come first to the place appointed; yea before him in whose countrey the assembly is: and they take it in this sence, that it is, because this complement should testifie, he is the better man, whom the meaner goeth to seeke, and that hee sueth unto him. Not onely each countrey, but every Citie, yea and every vocation hath his owne particular decorum. I have very carefully beene brought up in mine infancie, and have lived in verie good company, because I would not bee ignorant of the good maners of our countrey of France, and I am perswaded I might keepe a schoole of them. I love to follow them, but not so cowardly, as my life remaine thereby in subjection. They have some painfull formes in them, which if a man forget by discretion, and not by errour, hee shall no whit bee disgraced. I have often seene men proove unmanerly by too much

Even maners, and importunate by over-much curtesie. valour The knowledge of entertainment is otherwise a hath its limits profitable knowledge. It is, as grace and beautie are, the reconciler of the first accoastings of society and familiarity: and by consequence, it openeth the entrance to instruct us by the example of others, and to exploit and produce our example, if it have any instructing or communicable thing in it.

CHAP. XIV

Men are punished by too-much opiniating themselves in a place without reason

TALOUR hath his limits, as other vertues have: which if a man out-go, hee shall find himselfe in the traine of vice: in such sort, that unlesse a man know their right bounds, which in truth are not on a sudden, easily hit upon, he may fall into rashnesse, obstinacie, and folly. For this consideration grew the custome wee hold in warres, to punish, and that with death, those who wilfully opiniate themselves to defend a place, which by the rules of warre, cannot be kept. Otherwise upon hope of impunitie, there should bee no cottage, that might not entertaine an Armie. The Lord Constable Momorancie at the siege of Pavia, having beene appointed to passe over the river Tesine, and to quarter himselfe in the suburbs of Saint Antonie,

being impeached by a tower, that stood at the Punishend of the bridge, and which obstinately would ment of needs hold out, yea and to be battered, caused obstinate resistall those that were with-in it, to be hanged. ance The same man afterward, accompanying my Lord the Dolphin of France in his journey beyond the Alpes, having by force taken the Castle of Villane, and all those that were within the same, having by the furie of the Souldiers bin put to the sword, except the Captaine, and his Ancient, for the same reason, caused them both to be hanged and strangled: As did also, Captaine Martin du Bellay, the Governour of Turin, in the same countrey, the Captaine of Saint Bony: all the rest of his men having beene massacred at the taking of the place. for somuch as the judgement of the strength or weakenesse of the place, is taken by the estimate and counterpoise of the forces that assaile it (for som man might justly opinionate himselfe against two culverins, that wold play the madman to expect thirtie cannons) where also the greatnesse of the Prince conquering must be considered, his reputation, and the respect that is due unto him: there is danger a man should somewhat bend the ballance on that side. By which termes it hapneth, that some have so great an opinion of themselves, and their meanes, and deeming it unreasonable, any thing should be worthie to make head against them, that so long as their fortune continueth, they overpasse what hill or difficultie soever they finde to withstand or resist them: As is seene by the formes

and of malice

Faults of of sommonings and challenges, that the Princes weakness of the East, and their successors yet remaining have in use, so fierce, so haughtie, and so full of a barbarous kinde of commandement. And in those places where the Portugales abated the pride of the Indians, they found some states observing this universall and inviolable law, that what enemie soever he be, that is overcome by the King in person, or by his Lieutenant, is exempted from all composition of ransome or mercie. So above all, a man who is able should take heed, lest he fall into the hands of an enemie-judge, that is victorious and armed.

CHAP. XV

Of the punishment of cowardise

I HAVE heretofore heard a Prince, who was a very great Captaine, hold opinion, that a souldier might not for cowardise of heart be condemned to death: who sitting at his table heard report of the Lord of Vervins sentence, who for yeelding up of Bollein, was doomed to lose his head. Verily there is reason a man should make a difference between faults proceeding from our weaknesse, and those that grow from our malice. For in the latter we are directly bandied against the rules of reason, which nature hath imprinted in us; and in the former it seemeth, we may call the same nature, as a warrant, because it

in Greece

hath left us in such imperfection and defect. So Punishas divers nations have judged, that no man should ment of blame us for any thing we doe against our con- cowards science. And the opinion of those which condemne heretikes and miscreants unto capitall punishments, is partly grounded upon this rule: and the same which establisheth, that a Judge or an advocate may not bee called to account for any matter committed in their charge through oversight or ignorance. But touching cowardise, it is certain, the common fashion is, to punish the same with ignominie and shame. And some hold that this rule was first put in practice by the Law-giver Charondas, and that before him the lawes of Greece were wont to punish those with death, who for feare did run away from a Battell: where hee onely ordained, that for three dayes together, clad in womens attire, they should be made to sit in the market-place: hoping yet to have some service at their hands. and by meanes of this reproch, they might recover their courage againe. Suffundere malis hominis sanguinem quam effundere: Rather move a mans bloud to blush in his face, than remove it by bleeding from his body.

It appeareth also that the Roman lawes did in former times punish such as had run away, by death. For Ammianus Marcellinus reporteth, that Julian the Emperor condemned ten of his Souldiers, who in a charge against the Parthians, had but turned their backs from it; first to be degraded, and then to suffer death, as he saith, according to the ancient lawes, who nevertheFrance

And in lesse, condemneth others for a like fault, under Rome the ensigne of bag and baggage, to be kept amongst the common prisoners. The sharp punishment of the Romans against those Souldiers that escaped from Canna: and in the same warre against those that accompanied Cn. Fulvius in his defeat, reached not unto death, yet may a man feare, such open shame may make them despaire, and not only prove faint and cold friends, but cruell and sharpe enemies. In the time of our forefathers, the Lord of Franget, Whilom Lieutenant of the Marshall of Chastillions company, having by the Marshall of Chabanes beene placed Governor of Fontarabie, in stead of the Earle of Lude, and having yeelded the same unto the Spaniards, was condemned to be degraded of all Nobilitie, and not onely himselfe, but all his succeeding posteritie declared villains and clownes, taxable and incapable to beare armes; which severe sentence was put in execution at Lyons. The like punishment did afterward all the Gentlemen suffer, that were within Guise, when the Earle of Nansaw entred the towne: and others since. Neverthelesse if there were so grosse an ignorance, and so apparant cowardize, as that it should exceed all ordinary, it were reason it should be taken for a sufficient proofe of inexcusable treacherie, and knaverie, and for such to be punished.

CHAP. XVI

A tricke of certaine Ambassadors

I N all my travels I did ever observe this cus- Always tome, that is, alwaies to learne something by learn the communication of others (which is one of somethe best schooles that may be) to reduce those I thing from confer withall, to speake of that wherein they others are most conversant and skilfull.

Basti al nochiero ragionar de' venti, Albifolco de' tori, e le sue piaghe Conti il guerrier, conti il pastor gl' armenti.
—Idem Propert. ii. El. i. 43.

Sailers of windes plow-men of beasts take keepe, Let Souldiers count their wounds, shepherds their sheepe.

For commonly we see the contrary, that many chuse rather to discourse of any other trade than their owne; supposing it to be so much new reputation gotten: witnes the quip Archidamus gave Periander, saying that he forsooke the credit of a good Physitian, to become a paltry Poet. Note but how Casar displaieth his invention at large, when he would have us conceive his inventions how to build bridges, and devices, how to frame other war-like engins; and in respect of that how close and succinct he writes, when he speaketh of the offices belonging to his profession, of his valour, and of the conduct of his war-fare. His exploits prove him a most

Many excellent Captaine, but he would be known for dabble in a skilfull Ingenier, a quality somewhat strange other in him. Dionysius the elder was a very great than their chieftaine and Leader in warre, as a thing best own fitting his fortune: but he greatly laboured by meanes of Poetry, to assume high commendation unto himselfe, howbeit he had but little skill in it. A certaine Lawier was not long since brought to see a study, stored with all manner of bookes, both of his owne, and of all other faculties, wherein he found no occasion to entertaine himselfe withall, but like a fond cunning clarke earnestly busied himselfe to glosse and censure a fence or barricado, placed over the screw of the study, which a hundred Captaines and Souldiers see everie day, without observing or taking offence at them.

Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus.
—Hor. i. Epist. xiv. 43.

The Oxe would trappings weare, The Horse, ploughs-yoake would beare.

By this course you never come to perfection, or bring any thing to good passe. Thus must a man endevour to induce the Architect, the Painter, the Shoomaker to speake of their owne trade, and so of the rest, every man in his vocation. And to this purpose am I wont, in reading of histories (which is the subject of most men) to consider who are the writers: If they be such as professe nothing but bare learning, the chiefe thing I learne in them, is their stile and language: if Physitians, I beleeve them in

his trade

whatsoever they shall report concerning the tem- Learn of peratenesse of the aire, the health and com- each man plexion of Princes, or of hurts and infirmities: If Lawiers, we should observe the controversies of rights, titles, and pretenses of lawes and customes, the establishments of policies, and such like things: If Divines, we may note the affaires of the Church, the Ecclesiasticall censures, dispensations, cases of conscience, and marriages: If Courtiers, manners, complements, ceremonies, and entertainments: If Warriors, what belongs unto their charge, but chiefly the managing and conduct of the atchievements or exploits wherein they have been themselves in person: If Ambassadors, the negotiations, intelligences, practices, policies, and manner how to direct, complot, and conduct them. And therefore what in another Writer I should peradventure have cursorie passed over, I have with some advisednesse considered and marked the same in the historie of the Lord of Langey, a man most expert and intelligent in such matters: which is, that after he had exactly set downe and declared those glorious, and farre-fetcht remonstrances of the Emperor Charles the fifth made in the consistorie of Rome, in the presence of the Bishop of Mascon, and the Lord of Velly, our Ambassadors; wherein he entermixed many bitter and outrageous words against us; and amongst others, that if his Captaines and Souldiers were not of much more faithfulnesse and sufficiencie in the art of warre than our Kings, he would forthwith tie a rope about his necke,

not conceal truth

An envoy and goe aske him mercy: whereof he seemed to beleeve something: for afterward whilest he lived, he chanced twice or thrice to utter the verie same words. Moreover, that he had challenged the King to fight with him, man to man in his shirt, with Rapier and Dagger in a boat. The said Lord of Langey, following his storie, addeth that the said Ambassadors making a dispatch of what had passed unto the king, dissembled the chiefest part unto him, yea and concealed the two precedent articles from him. Now me thought it very strange, that it should lie in the power of an Ambassador to dispence with any point, concerning the advertizements he should give unto his Master, namely of such consequence, comming from such a person, and spoken in so great an assembly, whereas me seemed it should have beene the office of a trustie servant, truly and exactly to set downe things as they were, and in what manner they had succeeded: to the end the libertie of disposing, judging and chusing, might wholly lie in the master. For to alter and conceale the truth from him, for feare he should conster and take it otherwise than he ought, and lest that might provoke him to some bad resolution; and in the meane while to suffer him to be ignorant of his owne affaires, mee thought should rather have appertained to him that giveth the law, than to him that receiveth the same; to the Master or over-seer of the schoole, and not to him who should thinke himselfe inferior, as well in authority, as in wisdome and good counsell. Howsoever it were, I would be loth be so used in The mine owne small and particular businesse, we letter and doe so willingly upon every slight occasion and spirit of pretence neglect and forgoe commandement, and are so farre from obeying, that we rather usurp a kinde of masterie, and free power: every man doth so naturally aspire unto liberty and authoritie, that no profit ought to be so deare unto a superiour, proceeding from those that serve him as their simple and naturall obedience. Whosoever obeyeth by discretion, and not by subjection, corrupteth and abuseth the office of commanding. And P. Crassus he whom the Romans deemed five times happy, when he was Consull in Asia, having sent a Græcian Inginer, to bring the greatest of two ship-masts before him, which he had seene in Athens, therewith to frame an engine of batterie: This man under colour of his skill, presumed to doe otherwise than he was bidden, and brought the lesser of the two masts which according to his arts reason hee deemed the fittest. Crassus having patiently heard his reasons and allegations, caused him to be well whipped; preferring the interest of true discipline, before that of the worke. On the other side a man might also consider, that this so strict obedience belongs but to precise and prefixed commandements. Ambassadors have a more scopefull and free charge, which in many points dependeth chiefly of their disposition. They doe not meerely execute, but frame and direct by their owne advice and counsell, the will of their Master.

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orders

Too I have in my dayes seene some persons of comminute mandement, checked and found fault withall, because they had rather obeyed the literall sense, and bare words of the Kings letters, than the occasions of the affaires they had in hand. Men of understanding and experience doe yet at this day condemne the custome of the Kings of Persia, which was to mince the instructions given to their Agents, and Lieutenants so small, that in the least accident they might have recourse to their directions and ordinances: This delay, in so farre reaching a scope of domination, having often brought great prejudice, and notable dammage unto their affaires. And Crassus writing unto a man of that profession, and advertizing him of the use whereto he purposed the foresaid mast; seemeth he not to enter into conference with him concerning his determination, and wish him to interpose his censure or advice of it.

CHAP. XVII

Of feare

Obstupui, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit. -VIRG. Æn. ii. 774.

I stood agast, my haire on end, My jaw-tide tongue no speech would lend.

I AM no good Naturalist (as they say) and I know not well by what springs feare doth worke in us: but well I wot it is a strange

passion: and as Physitians say, there is none Effects of doth sooner transport our judgement out of his fear due seat. Verily I have seene divers become mad and senselesse for feare: yea and in him, who is most settled and best resolved, it is certaine that whilest his fit continueth, it begetteth many strange dazelings, and terrible amazements in him. I omit to speake of the vulgar sort, to whom it sometimes representeth strange apparitions, as their fathers and grandfathers ghosts, risen out of their graves, and in their winding sheets: and to others it somtimes sheweth Larves, Hobgoblins, Robbin-good-fellowes, and such other Bug-beares and Chimeraes. But even amongst Souldiers, with whom it ought to have no credit at all, how often hath she changed a flocke of sheep into a troupe of armed men? Bushes and shrubs into men - at - armes and Lanciers? our friends into our enemies? and a red crosse into a white? At what time the Duke of Bourbon tooke Rome, an Ancient that kept sentinell, in the borough Saint Peter, was at the first alarum surprised with such terror, that with his colours in his hand, he suddenly threw himselfe thorow the hole of a breach out of the Citie, and fell just in the midst of his enemies, supposing the way to goe straight in the heart of the Citie: but in the end he no sooner perceived the Duke of Burbons troupes, advancing to withstand him, imagining it to bee some sallie the Citizens made that way, hee better bethinking himselfe, turned head, and the very same way, he came out, he went into the towne

Fear againe, which was more than three hundred paces addeth distance towards the fields. The like happened, wings or but not so successfully unto Captaine Julius his ensigne-bearer at what time Saint Paul was taken from us by the Earle of Bures, and the Lord of Reu, who was so frighted with feare, that going about to cast himselfe over the towne wals, with his Ancient in his hand, or to creepe thorow a spike-hole, he was cut in peeces by the assailants. At which siege likewise, that horror and feare is very memorable, which so did choake, seize upon, and freeze the heart of a gentleman, that having received no hurt at all, he fell downe starke dead upon the ground before the breach. The like passion [or] rage doth sometimes possesse a whole multitude. In one of the encounters that Germanicus had with the Germanes, two mightie troupes were at one instant so frighted with feare, that both betooke themselves to their heeles, and ran away two contrary wayes, the one right to that place whence the other fled. It sometimes addeth wings unto our heeles, as unto the first named, and other times it takes the use of feet from us: as we may reade of Theophilus the Emperor, who in a battell hee lost against the Agarens, was so amazed and astonied, that he could not resolve to scape away by flight: adeò pavor etiam auxilia formidat: Feare is so afraid even of that should help. Untill such time as Manuel, one of the chiefe leaders in his armie, having rouzed and shaken him, as it were out of a dead sleepe, said unto him, Sir, if you will not presently follow me, I will surely kill you, for better

were it you should lose your life, than being taken In fear of prisoner, lose your Empire and all. Then doth fear she shew the utmost of her power, when for her owne service, she casts us off unto valour, which it hath exacted from our duty and honor. In the first set battell, the Romans lost against Hanibal, under the Consul Sempronius, a troupe of wel-nigh ten thousand footmen, was so surprised with feare, that seeing no other way to take, nor by what other course to give their basenes free passage, they headlong bent their flight toward the thickest and strongest squadron of their enemies, which with such furie it rowted and brake through, as it disranked, and slew a great number of the Carthaginians: purchasing a reproachfull and disgracefull flight, at the same rate it might have gained a most glorious victorie. It is feare I stand most in feare of. For, in sharpnesse it surmounteth all other accidents. What affection can be more violent and just than that of Pompeyes friends, who in his owne ship were spectators of that horrible massacre? yet is it, that the feare of the Ægyptian sailes, which began to approach them, did in such sort daunt and skare them, that some have noted, they only busied themselves to hasten the marriners, to make what speed they could, and by maine strength of oares to save themselves, untill such time, as being arrived at Tyre, and that they were free from feare, they had leasure to bethinke themselves of their late losse, and give their plaints and teares free passage, which this other stronger passion had suspended and hindred.

Owners of goods fear most Tum pavor sapientiam omnem mihi ex animo expectorat.
—1. Cic. Tusc. Qu. iv. ex Enn.; De Orat. iii

Feare then unbreasts all wit, That in my minde did sit.

Those who in any skirmish or sudden bickering of warre have been throughly skared, sorehurt, wounded, and gored as they be, are many times the next day after, brought to charge againe. But such as have conceived a true feare of their enemies, it is hard for you to make them looke them in the face againe. Such as are in continuall feare to lose their goods, to be banished, or to be subdued, live in uncessant agonie and languor; and thereby often lose both their drinking, their eating, and their rest. Whereas the poore, the banished, and seely servants, live often as carelesly and as pleasantly as the other. And so many men, who by the impatience and urging of feare, have hanged, drowned, and headlong tumbled downe from some rocke, have plainly taught us, that feare is more importunate and intolerable than death. The Græcians acknowledge another kinde of it, which is beyond the error of our discourse: proceeding, as they say, without any apparent cause, and from an heavenly im-Whole Nations and Armies are often seene surprised with it. Such was that, which brought so wonderfull a desolation to Carthage, where nothing was heard but lamentable out-cries, and frightfull exclamations: the inhabitants were seene desperately to runne out of their houses, as to a sudden alarum, and furiously to charge, hurt,

and enter-kill one another, as if they had beene Panic enemies come to usurpe and possesse their Citie. terror All things were there in a disordered confusion, and in a confused furie, untill such time as by praiers and sacrifices they had appeased the wrath of their Gods. They call it to this day, the Panike terror (Eras. Chil. ii. cent. x. ad. 19; Chil. iii. cet. vii. ad. 3).

CHAP. XVIII

That we should not judge of our happinesse, untill after our death

—scilicet ultima semper
Expectanda dies homini est, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo, supremaque funera debet.
—Ovid. Met. iii. 135.

We must expect of man the latest day, Nor er'e he die, he's happie, can we say.

THE very children are acquainted with the storie of Crasus to this purpose: who being taken by Cyrus, and by him condemned to die, upon the point of his execution, cried out aloud: Oh Solon, Solon! which words of his, being reported to Cyrus, who inquiring what he meant by them, told him, hee now at his owne cost verified the advertisement Solon had before times given him: which was, "that no man, what cheerefull and blandishing countenance soever fortune shewed them, may rightly deeme himselfe

until dead

No man happie, till such time as he have passed the last happy day of his life, by reason of the uncertaintie and vicissitude of humane things, which by a very light motive, and slight occasion, are often changed from one to another cleane contrary state and degree." And therefore Agesilaus answered one that counted the King of Persia happy, because being very young, he had gotten the garland of so mightie and great a dominion: yea but said he, Priam at the same age was not unhappy. Of the Kings of Macedon, that succeeded Alexander the great, some were afterward seene to become Joyners and Scriveners at Rome: and of Tyrants of Sicilie, Schoolemasters at Corinth: One that had conquered halfe the world, and been Emperour over so many Armies, became an humble, and miserable suter to the raskally officers of a king of Ægypt: At so high a rate did that great Pompey purchase the irkesome prolonging of his life but for five or six moneths. And in our fathers daies, Lodowicke Sforze, tenth Duke of Millane, under whom the state of Italie had so long beene turmoiled and shaken, was seene to die a wretched prisoner at Loches in France, but not till he had lived and lingered ten yeares in thraldome, which was the worst of his bargaine. The fairest Queene, wife to the greatest King of Christendome, was she not lately seene to die by the hands of an executioner? Oh unworthie and barbarous crueltie! And a thousand such examples. For, it seemeth that as the sea-billowes and surging waves, rage and storme against the surly pride

The philosophy of Solon

and stubborne height of our buildings; So are there above, certaine spirits that envie the rising prosperities and greatnesse heere below.

Usque adeò res humanas res abdita quædam Obterit, et pulchros fasces sævásque secures Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur.

-LUCRET. V. 1243

A hidden power so mens states hath out-worne Faire swords, fierce scepters, signes of honours borne,

It seemes to trample and deride in scorne.

And it seemeth Fortune doth sometimes narrowly watch the last day of our life, thereby to shew her power, and in one moment to overthrow what for many yeares together she had beene erecting, and makes us crie after Laberius, Nimirum hac die una plus vixi, mihi quam vivendum fuit. Thus it is, I have lived longer by this one day, than I should. So may that good advice of Solon be taken with reason. But forsomuch as hee is a Philosopher, with whom the favours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by him; and puissances and greatnesses, and accidents of qualitie, are well nigh indifferent: I deeme it very likely he had a further reach, and meant that the same good fortune of our life, which dependeth of the tranquillitie and contentment of a welborne minde, and of the resolution and assurance of a well ordered soule, should never be ascribed unto man, untill he have beene seene play the last act of his comedie, and without doubt the hardest. In all the rest there may be

masterday

Death some maske: either these sophisticall discourses is the of Philosophie are not in us but by countenance, or accidents that never touch us to the quick, give us alwaies leasure to keep our countenance setled. But when that last part of death, and of our selves comes to be acted, then no dissembling will availe, then is it high time to speake plaine English, and put off all vizards: then whatsoever the pot containeth must be shewne, be it good or bad, foule or cleane, wine or water.

> Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo Eiiciuntur, et eripitur persona, manet res. -Lucret. iii. 57.

For then are sent true speeches from the heart, We are our selves, we leave to play a part.

Loe heere, why at this last cast, all our lives other actions must be tride and touched. It is the master-day, the day that judgeth all others: it is the day, saith an auncient Writer, that must judge of all my forepassed yeares. To death doe I referre the essay of my studies fruit. There shall wee see whether my discourse proceed from my heart, or from my mouth. I have seene divers, by their death, either in good or evill, give reputation to all their forepassed life. Scipio, father in law to Pompey, in well dying, repaired the ill opinion which untill that houre men had ever held of him. Epaminondas being demanded, which of the three he esteemed most, either Chabrias, or Iphicrates, or himselfe; It is necessary, said he, that we be seene to die, before your question may well be resolved. Verily we should steale

much from him, if he should be weighed without The the honour and greatnesse of his end. God hath death of willed it, as he pleased: but in my time three of de la the most execrable persons, that ever I knew in Boëtie all abomination of life, and the most infamous, have beene seen to die very orderly and quietly, and in every circumstance composed even unto perfection. There are some brave and fortunate deaths. I have seene her cut the twine of some mans life, with a progresse of wonderful advancement, and with so worthie an end, even in the flowre of his growth, and spring of his youth, that in mine opinion, his ambitious and haughtie couragious designes, thought nothing so high, as might interrupt them: who without going to the place where he pretended, arived there more gloriously and worthily, than either his desire or hope aimed at. And by his fall fore-went the power and name, whither by his course he aspired. When I judge of other mens lives, I ever respect, how they have behaved themselves in their end; and my chiefest study is, I may well demeane my selfe at my last gaspe, that is to say, quietly, and constantly.

CHAP. XIX

That to Philosophie, is to learne how to die

CICERO saith, that to Philosophie is no other thing, than for a man to prepare himselfe to death: which is the reason, that studie and con-

Pleasure templation doth in some sort withdraw our soule is our end from us, and severally employ it from the body, which is a kind of apprentisage and resemblance of death; or else it is, that all the wisdome and discourse of the world, doth in the end resolve upon this point, to teach us, not to feare to die. Truly either reason mockes us, or it only aimeth at our contentment, and in fine, bends all her travell to make us live well, and as the holy Scripture saith, at our ease. All the opinions of the world conclude, that pleasure is our end, howbeit they take divers meanes unto, and for it, else would men reject them at their first comming. For, who would give eare unto him, that for it's end would establish our paine and disturbance? The dissentions of philosophicall sects in this case, are verball: Transcurramus solertissimas nugas: Let us run over such overfine fooleries, and subtill trifles. There is more wilfulnesse and wrangling among them, than pertaines to a sacred profession. But what person a man undertakes to act, he doth ever therewithall personate his owne. Allthough they say, that in vertue it selfe, the last scope of our aime is voluptuousnes. It pleaseth me to importune their eares still with this word, which so much offends their hearing: And if it imply any chiefe pleasure or exceeding contentments, it is rather due to the assistance of vertue, than to any other supply, voluptuousnes being more strong, sinnowie, sturdie, and manly, is but more seriously voluptuous. And we should give it the name of pleasure, more favorable, sweeter, and more

naturall; and not terme it vigor, from which it Virtue hath his denomination. Should this baser sen- and suality deserve this faire name, it should be by voluptucompetencie, and not by privilege. I finde it lesse void of incommodities and crosses, than vertue. And besides that, her taste is more fleeting, momentarie, and fading, she hath her fasts, her eves, and her travels, and both sweat and bloud. Furthermore she hath particularly so many wounding passions, and of so severall sorts, and so filthie and loathsome a sacietie waiting upon her, that shee is equivalent to penitencie. Wee are in the wrong, to thinke her incommodities serve her as a provocation, and seasoning to her sweetnes, as in nature one contrarie is vivified by another contrarie: and to say, when we come to vertue, that like successes and difficulties over-whelme it, and yeeld it austere and inaccessible. Whereas much more properly then unto voluptuousnes, they ennoble, sharpen, animate, and raise that divine and perfect pleasure, which it [mediates] and procureth us. Truly he is verie unworthie her acquaintance, that counterballanceth her cost to his fruit, and knowes neither the graces nor use of it. Those who go about to instruct us, how her pursuit is very hard and laborious, and her jovisance well pleasing and delightfull: what else tell they us, but that shee is ever unpleasant and irksome? For, what humane meane did ever attaine unto an absolute enjoying of it? The perfectest have beene content but to aspire and approach her, without ever possessing her. But they are deceived; seeing

death

The con- that of all the pleasures we know, the pursute of tempt of them is pleasant. The enterprise is perceived by the qualitie of the thing, which it hath regard unto: for it is a good portion of the effect, and That happines and felicitie, consubstantiall. which shineth in vertue, replenisheth her approaches and appurtenances, even unto the first entrance and utmost barre. Now of all the benefits of vertue, the contempt of death is the chiefest, a meane that furnisheth our life with an ease-full tranquillitie, and gives us a pure and amiable taste of it: without which every other voluptuousnes is extinguished. Loe, here the reasons why all rules encounter and agree with this article. And albeit they all leade us with a common accord to despise griefe, povertie, and other accidentall crosses, to which mans life is subject, it is not with an equall care: as well because accidents are not of such a necessitie, for most men passe their whole life without feeling any want or povertie, and other-some without feeling any griefe or sicknes, as Xenophilus the Musitian, who lived an hundred and six yeares in perfect and continuall health; as also if the worst happen, death may at all times, and whensoever it shall please us, cut off all other inconveniences and crosses. But as for death, it is inevitable.

> Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium Versatur urna, serius, ocyus Sors exitura, et nos in æternum exilium impositura cymbæ. -Hor. iii. Od. iii. 25.

All to one place are driv'n, of all Shak't is the lot-pot, where-hence shall Sooner or later drawne lots fall, And to deaths boat for aye enthrall. Death is inevitable

And by consequence, if she make us affeard, it is a continual subject of torment, and which can no way be eased. There is no starting-hole will hide us from her, she will finde us wheresoever we are, we may as in a suspected countrie start and turne here and there: quæ quasi saxum Tantalo semper impendet (Cic. Fin. i.): Which evermore hangs like the stone over the head of Tantalus: Our lawes doe often condemne and send malefactors to be executed in the same place where the crime was committed: to which whilest they are going, leade them along the fairest houses, or entertaine them with the best cheere you can,

non Siculæ dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem:
Non avium, citharæque cantus
Somnum reducent.—Hon. iii. Od. i. 18.

Not all King *Denys* daintie fare, Can pleasing taste for them prepare: No song of birds, no musikes sound Can lullabie to sleepe profound.

Doe you thinke they can take any pleasure in it? or be any thing delighted? and that the finall intent of their voiage being still before their eies, hath not altered and altogether distracted their taste from all these commodities and allurements?

The name of death causes terror

Audit iter, numeratque dies, spatioque viarum Metitur vitam, torquetur peste futura. —CLAUD. in Ruff. ii. 1. 137.

He heares his journey, counts his daies, so measures he

His life by his waies length, vext with the ill shall be.

The end of our cariere is death, it is the necessarie object of our aime: if it affright us, how is it possible we should step one foot further without an ague? The remedie of the vulgar sort is, not to thinke on it. But from what brutall stupiditie may so grosse a blindnesse come upon him? he must be made to bridle his Asse by the taile,

Qui capite ipse suo instituit vestigia retro

Who doth a course contrarie runne With his head to his course begunne.

It is no marvell if he be so often taken tripping; some doe no sooner heare the name of death spoken of, but they are afraid, yea the most part will crosse themselves, as if they heard the Devill named. And because mention is made of it in mens wils and testaments, I warrant you there is none will set his hand to them, til the Physitian have given his last doome, and utterly forsaken him. And God knowes, being then betweene such paine and feare, with what sound judgement they endure him. For so much as this syllable sounded so unpleasantly in their eares, and this voice seemed

so ill-boding and unluckie, the Romans had Birth of learned to allay and dilate the same by a Peri- Monphrasis. In liew of saying, he is dead, or he hath ended his daies, they would say, he hath lived. So it be life, be it past or no, they are comforted: from whom we have borowed our phrases quondam, alias, or late such a one. It may haply be, as the common saying is, the time we live, is worth the mony we pay for it. I was borne betweene eleven of the clocke and noone, the last of Februarie 1533, according to our computation, the yeare beginning the first of Januarie. It is but a fortnight since I was 39. yeares old. I want at least as much more. If in the meane time I should trouble my thoughts with a matter so farre from me, it were but folly. But what? we see both young and old to leave their life after one selfe-same condition. No man departs otherwise from it, than if he but now came to it, seeing there is no man so crazed, bedrell, or decrepit, so long as he remembers Methusalem, but thinkes he may yet live twentie yeares. Moreover, seely creature as thou art, who hath limited the end of thy daies? Happily thou presumest upon Physitians reports. Rather consider the effect and experience. By the common course of things, long since thou livest by extraordinarie favour. Thou hast alreadie over-past the ordinarie tearmes of common life: And to prove it, remember but thy acquaintances and tell me how many more of them have died before they came to thy age, than have either attained or outgone the same: yea and of

taigne

us in many wavs

Death those that through renoune have ennobled their surprises life, if thou but register them, I will lay a wager, I will finde more that have died before they came to five and thirty yeares, than after. is consonant with reason and pietie, to take example by the humanity of Jesus Christ, who ended his humane life at three and thirtie yeares. The greatest man that ever was being no more than a man, I meane Alexander the great, ended his dayes, and died also of that age. many severall meanes and waies hath death to surprise us!

> Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis Cautum est in horas .- HOR, ii. Od. xiii, 13. A man can never take good heed, Hourely what he may shun and speed.

I omit to speake of agues and pleurisies; who would ever have imagined, that a Duke of Brittanie should have beene stifled to death in a throng of people, as whilome was a neighbour of mine at Lyons, when Pope Clement made his entrance there? Hast thou not seene one of our late Kings slaine in the middest of his sports? and one of his ancestors die miserably by the chocke of an hog? Eschilus fore-threatned by the fall of an house, when he stood most upon his guard, strucken dead by the fall of a Tortoise shell, which fell out of the tallants of an Eagle flying in the aire? and another choaked with the kernell of a grape? And an Emperour die by the scratch of a combe, whilest he was combing his head: And Emylius Lepidus with hitting his

foot against a doore-seele? And Aufidius with Death of stumbling against the Consull-Chamber doore as Monhe was going in thereat? And Cornelius Gallus taigne's the Prætor, Tigillinus Captaine of the Romane watch, Lodowike sonne of Guido Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, end their daies betweene womens thighs? And of a farre worse example Speusippus the Platonian Philosopher and one of our Popes? Poore Bebius a Judge whilest he demurreth the sute of a plaintife but for eight daies, behold his last expired; And Caius Julius a Physitian, whilest he was annointing the eies of one of his patients, to have his owne sight closed for ever by death. And if amongst these examples, I may adde one of a brother of mine, called Captaine Saint Martin, a man of three and twentie yeares of age, who had alreadie given good testimonie of his worth and forward valour, playing at tennis, received a blow with a ball, that hit him a little above the right eare, without apparance of any contusion, bruse, or hurt, and never sitting or resting upon it, died within six houres after of an Apoplexie, which the blow of the ball caused in him. These so frequent and ordinary examples, hapning, and being still before our eies, how is it possible for man to forgo or forget the remembrance of death? and why should it not continually seeme unto us, that shee is still ready at hand to take us by the throat? What matter is it, will you say unto me, how and in what manner it is, so long as a man doe not trouble and vex himselfe therewith? I am of this opinion, that howsoovertakes cowards

Death ever a man may shrowd or hide himselfe from equally her dart, yea were it under an oxe-hide, I am not the man would shrinke backe: it sufficeth me to live at my ease; and the best recreation I can have, that doe I ever take; in other matters, as little vainglorious, and exemplare as you list.

> -prætulerim delirus inersque videri, Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant, Quam sapere et ringi .- ID. ii. Epi. ii. 126.

A dotard I had rather seeme, and dull, So me my faults may please make me a gull, Than to be wise, and beat my vexed scull.

But it is folly to thinke that way to come unto it. They come, they goe, they trot, they daunce: but no speech of death. All that is good sport. But if she be once come, and on a sudden and openly surprise, either them, their wives, their children, or their friends, what torments, what out-cries, what rage, and what despaire doth then overwhelme them? saw you ever any thing so drooping, so changed, and so distracted? A man must looke to it, and in better times fore-see it. And might that brutish carelessenesse lodge in the minde of a man of understanding (which I find altogether impossible) she sels us her ware at an over-deere rate: were she an enemie by mans wit to be avoided, I would advise men to borrow the weapons of cowardlinesse: but since it may not be, and that be you either a coward or a runaway, an honest or valiant man, she overtakes you,

Nec parcit imbellis juventæ
Poplitibus, timidoque tergo.—ID. iii. Od. ii. 14.
Shee persecutes the man that flies,
Shee spares not weake youth to surprise,
But on their hammes and backe turn'd plies.

Nempe et fugacem persequitur virum,

Fight death with a resolute mind

And that no temper of cuirace may shield or defend you,

Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et ære,
Mors tamen inclusum protrahet inde caput,
—PROF[ER]T. iii. El. xvii. 25.

Though he with yron and brasse his head empale, Yet death his head enclosed thence will hale.

Let us learne to stand, and combat her with a resolute minde. And begin to take the greatest advantage she hath upon us from her, let us take a cleane contrary way from the common, let us remove her strangenesse from her, let us converse, frequent, and acquaint our selves with her, let us have nothing so much in minde as death, let us at all times and seasons, and in the ugliest manner that may be, yea with all faces shapen and represent the same unto our imagination. At the stumbling of a horse, at the fall of a stone, at the least prick with a pinne, let us presently ruminate and say with our selves, what if it were death it selfe? and thereupon let us take heart of grace, and call our wits together to confront her. Amiddest our bankets, feasts, and pleasures, let us ever have this restraint or object before us, that is, the remembrance of our condition, and let not pleasure so much mislead

The or transport us, that we altogether neglect or skeleton forget, how many waies, our joyes, or our feastat the ings, be subject unto death, and by how many feast hold-fasts shee threatens us and them. So did the Ægyptians, who in the middest of their banquetings, and in the full of their greatest cheere, caused the anatomie of a dead man to be brought before them, as a memorandum and warning to their guests.

> Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum, Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur hora. -Hor, i. Epi. iv. 13.

Thinke every day shines on thee as thy last, Welcome it will come, whereof hope was past.

It is uncertaine where death looks for us; let us expect her everie where: the premeditation of death, is a fore-thinking of libertie. He who hath learned to die, hath unlearned to serve. There is no evill in life, for him that hath well conceived, how the privation of life is no evill. To know how to die, doth free us from all subjection and constraint. Paulus Æmilius answered one, whom that miserable king of Macedon his prisoner sent to entreat him, he would not lead him in triumph, let him make that request unto him selfe. Verily, if Nature afford not some helpe, in all things, it is very hard that art and industrie should goe farre before. Of my selfe, I am not much given to melancholy, but rather to dreaming and sluggishnes. There is nothing wherewith I have ever more entertained my selfe, than with the imaginations of death, yea in the most licentious Be times of my age.

familiar with the thought of death

Jucundum, cum ætas florida ver ageret. -CATUL, Eleg. iv. 16.

When my age flourishing Did spend it's pleasant spring.

Being amongst faire Ladies, and in earnest play, some have thought me busied, or musing with my selfe, how to digest some jealousie, or meditating on the uncertaintie of some conceived hope, when God he knowes, I was entertaining my selfe with the remembrance of some one or other, that but few daies before was taken with a burning fever, and of his sodaine end, comming from such a feast or meeting where I was my selfe, and with his head full of idle conceits, of love, and merry glee; supposing the same, either sicknes or end, to be as neere me as him.

> Jam fuerit, nec post, unquam revocare licebit. -Luck, iii. 947.

Now time would be, no more You can this time restore.

I did no more trouble my selfe or frowne at such a conceit, than at any other. It is impossible, we should not apprehend or feele some motions, or startings at such imaginations at the first, and comming sodainely upon us: but doubtlesse, he that shall manage and meditate upon them with an impartiall eye, they will assuredly, in tract of time, become familiar to him: Otherwise for my part, I should be in

Death continuall feare and agonie; for no man did ever is ever more distrust his life, nor make lesse account of his continuance: Neither can health, which hitherto I have so long enjoied, and which so seldome hath beene crazed, lengthen my hopes, nor any sicknesse shorten them of it. At every minute me thinkes I make an escape. uncessantly record unto my selfe, that whatsoever may be done another day, may be effected this day. Truly hazards and dangers doe little or nothing approach us at our end: And if we consider, how many more there remaine, besides this accident, which in number more than millions seeme to threaten us, and hang over us; we shall find, that be we sound or sicke, lustie or weake, at sea or at land, abroad or at home, fighting or at rest, in the middest of a battell or in our beds, she is ever alike neere unto us. Nemo altero fragilior est, nemo in crastinum sui certior. No man is weaker then other; none surer of himselfe (to live) till to morrow. Whatsoever I have to doe before death, all leasure to end the same, seemeth short unto me, yea were it but of one houre. Some body, not long since turning over my writing tables, found by chance a memoriall of something I would have done after my death: I told him (as indeed it was true,) that being but a mile from my house, and in perfect health and lustie, I had made haste to write it, because I could not assure my self I should ever come home in safety; As one that am ever hatching of mine owne thoughts, and place them in my

selfe: I am ever prepared about that which I Why may be: nor can death (come when she please) attem put me in mind of any new thing. A man should ever, as much as in him lieth, be ready booted to take his journey, and above all things, looke he have then nothing to doe but with himselfe.

attempt so much?

Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo Multa ?- Hor, ii, Od, xvi, To aime why are we ever bold, At many things in so short hold?

For then we shall have worke sufficient, without any more accrease. Some man complaineth more that death doth hinder him from the assured course of an hoped for victorie, than of death it selfe; another cries out, he should give place to her, before he have married his daughter, or directed the course of his childrens bringing up; another bewaileth he must forgoe his wives company: another moaneth the losse of his children the chiefest commodities of his being. I am now by meanes of the mercy of God in such a taking, that without regret or grieving at any worldly matter, I am prepared to dislodge, whensoever he shall please to call me: I am every where free: my farewell is soone taken of all my friends, except of my selfe. No man did ever prepare himselfe to quit the world more simply and fully, or more generally [shake] of all thoughts of it, than I am fully assured I shall doe. The deadest deaths are the best.

Unfinished works —Miser, ô miser (aiunt) omnia ademit.
Una dies infesta mihi tot præmia vitæ.—Lucr. iii. 942.
O wretch, O wretch, (friends cry) one day,
All joyes of life hath tane away:

And the builder,

—maneant (saith he) opera interrupta, minæque, Murorum ingentes.—VIRG. Aen. iv. 88.

The workes unfinisht lie.

The workes unfinisht lie, And walls that threatned hie.

A man should designe nothing so long aforehand, or at least with such an intent, as to passionate himselfe to see the end of it; we are all borne to be doing.

Cùm moriar, medium solvar et inter opus.
—Ovid. Am. ii. El. x. 36.

When dying I my selfe shall spend, Ere halfe my businesse come to end.

I would have a man to be doing, and to prolong his lives offices, as much as lieth in him, and let death seize upon me, whilest I am setting my cabiges, carelesse of her dart, but more of my unperfect garden. I saw one die, who being at his last gaspe, uncessantly complained against his destinie, and that death should so unkindly cut him off in the middest of an historie which he had in hand, and was now come to the fifteenth or sixteenth of our Kings.

Illud in his rebus non addunt, nee tibi earum,
Jam desiderium rerum super insidet una.—Lucr. iii. 944.
Friends adde not that in this case, now no more
Shalt thou desire, or want things wisht before.

yards

A man should rid himselfe of these vulgar The witand hurtfull humours. Even as Church-vards ness of were first placed adjoyning unto churches, and churchin the most frequented places of the City, to enure (as Lycurgus said) the common people, women and children, not to be skared at the sight of a dead man, and to the end that continuall spectacle of bones, sculs, tombes, graves and burials, should forewarne us of our condition. and fatall end.

Quin etiam exhilarare viris convivia cade Mos olim, et miscere epulis spectacula dira. Certantum ferro, sæpe et super ipsa cadentum Pocula, respersis non parco sanguine mensis. -Syl. Ital. xi. 51.

Nay more, the manner was to welcome guests, And with dire shewes of slaughter to mix feasts. Of them that fought at sharpe, and with bords tainted

Of them with much bloud, who o'er full cups fainted.

And even as the Ægyptians after their feastings and carousings, caused a great image of death to be brought in and shewed to the guests and bystanders, by one that cried aloud, Drinke and be mery, for such shalt thou be when thou art dead: So have I learned this custome or lesson, to have alwaies death, not only in my imagination, but continually in my mouth. And there is nothing I desire more to be informed of, than of the death of men: that is to say, what words, what countenance, and what face they shew at their death; and in reading of histories, which I so

before-

Think of attentively observe. It appeareth by the shuffling death efore-hand subject so particularly as this. Were I a com-poser of books, I would keepe a register, commented of the divers deaths, which in teaching men to die, should after teach them to live. Dicearcus made one of that title, but of another and lesse profitable end. Some man will say to mee, the effect exceeds the thought so farre, that there is no fence so sure, or cunning so certaine, but a man shall either lose or forget, if he come once to that point; let them say what they list: to premeditate on it, giveth no doubt a great advantage: and [is it] nothing, at the least to goe so farre without dismay or alteration, or without an ague? There belongs more to it: Nature her selfe lends her hand, and gives us courage. If it be a short and violent death, wee have no leisure to feare it; if otherwise, I perceive that according as I engage my selfe in sicknesse, I doe naturally fall into some disdaine and contempt of life. I finde that I have more adoe to digest this resolution, that I shall die when I am in health, than I have when I am troubled with a fever: forsomuch as I have no more such fast hold on the commodities of life, whereof I begin to lose the use and pleasure, and view death in the face with a lesse undanted looke, which makes me hope, that the further I goe from that, and the nearer I approch to this, so much more easily doe I enter in composition for their exchange. Even as I have tried in many other occurrences, which Casar affirmed,

death by degrees

that often somethings seeme greater, being farre We are from us, than if they bee neere at hand: I have led to found that being in perfect health, I have much more beene frighted with sicknesse, than when I have felt it. The jollitie wherein I live, the pleasure and the strength make the other seeme so disproportionable from that, that by imagination I amplifie these commodities by one moitie, and apprehended them much more heavie and burthensome, than I feele them when I have them upon my shoulders. The same I hope will happen to me of death. Consider we by the ordinary mutations, and daily declinations which we suffer, how Nature deprives us of the [sight] of our losse and empairing: what hath an aged man left him of his youths vigor, and of his forepast life?

> Heu senibus vitæ portio quanta manet! -Cor. Gal. i. 16.

Alas to men in yeares how small A part of life is left in all?

Casar to a tired and crazed Souldier of his guard, who in the open street came to him, to beg leave, he might cause himselfe to be put to death; viewing his decrepit behaviour, answerd plesantly: Doest thou thinke to be alive then? Were man all at once to fall into it, I doe not thinke we should be able to beare such a change, but being faire and gently led on by her hand, in a slow, and as it were unperceived descent, by little and little, and step by step, she roules us into that miserable state, and day by day seekes

Death in life

to acquaint us with it. So that when youth failes in us, we feele, nay we perceive no shaking or transchange at all in our selves: which in essence and veritie is a harder death, than that of a languishing and irkesome life, or that of age. Forsomuch as the leape from an ill being, unto a not being, is not so dangerous or steepie; as it is from a delightfull and flourishing being, unto a painfull and sorrowfull condition. A weake bending, and faint [stooping] bodie hath lesse strength to beare and undergoe a heavie burden: So hath our soule. She must bee rouzed and raised against the violence and force of this adversarie. For as it is impossible, she should take any rest whilest she feareth: whereof if she be assured (which is a thing exceeding humane condition) she may boast that it is impossible, unquietnesse, torment, and feare, much lesse the least displeasure should lodge in her.

Non vultus instantis tyranni Mente quatit solida, neque Auster, Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ, Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus. —Hor. iii. 01. iii.

No urging tyrants threatning face, Where minde is sound can it displace, No troublous wind the rough seas Master,

Nor Joves great hand the thunder-caster.

She is made Mistris of her passions and concupiscence, Lady of indulgence, of shame of povertie, and of all fortunes injuries. Let him that can, attaine to this advantage: Herein consists the true and soveraigne liberty, that affords

the beginning

of life

us meanes wherewith to jeast and make a scorne Death is of force and injustice, and to deride imprisonment, gives, or fetters.

-in manicis, et Compedibus, sævo te sub custode tenebo, Ipse Deus simul atque volam, me solvet : opinor, Hoc sentit moriar, mors ultima linea rerum est. -[Hor.] i. Epi. xvi. 76.

In gyves and fetters I will hamper thee, Under a Jayler that shall cruell be: Yet, when I will, God me deliver shall, He thinkes, I shall die: death is end of all

Our religion hath had no surer humane foundation, than the contempt of life. Discourse of reason doth not only call and summon us unto it. For why should we feare to lose a thing, which being lost, cannot be moaned? but also, since we are threatned by so many kinds of death, there is no more inconvenience to feare them all, than to endure one: what matter is it when it commeth, since it is unavoidable? Socrates answered one that told him, The thirty Tyrants have condemned thee to death; And Nature them, said he. What fondnesse is it to carke and care so much, at that instant and passage from all exemption of paine and care? As our birth brought us the birth of all things, so shall our death the end of all things. Therefore is it as great follie to weepe, we shall not live a hundred yeeres hence, so to waile we lived not a hundred yeeres agoe. Death is the beginning of another life. So wept we, and so much did it cost us to enter into this life; and so did we

Ephemeral life spoile us of our ancient vaile in entring into it. Nothing can be grievous that is but once. Is it reason so long to feare a thing of so short time? Long life or short life is made all one by death. For long or short is not in things that are no more. Aristotle saith, there are certaine litle beasts alongst the river Hyspanis, that live but one day; she which dies at 8. a clocke in the morning, dies in her youth, and she that dies at 5. in the afternoon, dies in her decrepitude, who of us doth not laugh, when we shall see this short moment of continuance to be had in consideration of good or ill fortune? The most and the least in ours, if we compare it with eternitie, or equall it to the lasting of mountaines, rivers, stars, and trees, or any other living creature, is no lesse ridiculous. But nature compels us to it. Depart (saith she,) out of this world, even as you came into it. The same way you came from death to life, returne without passion or amazement, from life to death: your death is but a peece of the worlds order, and but a parcell of the worlds life.

—inter se mortales mutua vivunt, Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt. —Lucr. ii. 74, 77.

Mortall men live by mutuall entercourse: And yeeld their life-torch, as men in a course.

Shal I not change this goodly contexture of things for you? It is the condition of your creation: death is a part of your selves: you flie from your selves. The being you enjoy, is equally shared betweene life and death. The first day of your birth doth as wel addresse you All life is to die, as to live.

All life is a dying

Prima quæ vitam dedit, hora, carpsit.
—Sen. Her. Fur. chor. iii.

The first houre, that to men Gave life, strait, cropt it then.

Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.
—Manil. Ast. iv.

As we are borne we die; the end Doth of th' originall depend.

All the time you live, you steale it from death: it is at her charge. The continuall worke of your life, is to contrive death; you are in death, during the time you continue in life: for, you are after death, when you are no longer living. Or if you had rather have it so, you are dead after life: but during life, you are still dying: and death doth more rudely touch the dying, than the dead, and more lively and essentially. If you have profited by life, you have also beene fed thereby, depart then satisfied.

Cur non ut plenus vitæ conviva recedis?

-Lucr. iii. 982.

Why like a full-fed guest, Depart you not to rest?

If you have not knowne how to make use of it: if it were unprofitable to you, what need you care to have lost it? to what end would you enjoy it longer?

—cur amplius addere quæris

Rursum quod pereat male, et ingratum occidat omne?

—Lucr. iii. 985.

Why seeke you more to gaine, what must againe All perish ill, and passe with griefe or paine?

VOL. I.

All days

Life in it selfe is neither good nor evill: it is are alike the place of good or evill, according as you prepare it for them. And if you have lived one day, you have seene all: one day is equal to all other daies: There is no other light, there is no other night. This Sunne, this Moone, these Starres, and this disposition, is the very same, which your forefathers enjoyed, and which shall also entertaine your posteritie.

> Non alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes Aspicient.

No other saw our Sires of old, No other shall their sonnes behold.

And if the worst happen, the distribution and varietie of all the acts of my comedie, is performed in one yeare. If you have observed the course of my foure seasons; they containe the infancie, the youth, the virilitie, and the old age of the world. He hath plaied his part: he knowes no other wilinesse belonging to it, but to begin againe, it will ever be the same, and no other.

> -Versamur ibidem, atque insumus usque. -Luck. iii. 123.

We still in one place turne about, Still there we are, now in, now out.

Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus. -VIRG. Georg. ii. 403.

The yeare into it selfe is cast By those same steps, that it hath past.

I am not purposed to devise you other new sports.

Nam tibi præterea quod machiner, inveniamque Quod placeat, nihil est, eadem sunt omnia semper. —Luck. ii. 978.

No discontent or desire in the grave

Else nothing, that I can devise or frame, Can please thee, for all things are still the same.

Make roome for others, as others have done for you. Equalitie is the chiefe ground-worke of equitie, who can complaine to be comprehended where all are contained? So may you live long enough, you shall never diminish any thing from the time you have to die: it is bootlesse; so long shall you continue in that state, which you feare, as if you had died being in your swathing-clothes, and when you were sucking.

—licet, quot vis, vivendo vincere secla, Mors æterna tamen, nihilominus illa manebit. —IB. 1126.

Though yeares you live, as many as you will, Death is eternall, death remaineth still.

And I will so please you, that you shall have no discontent.

In vera nescis nullum fore morte alium te, Qui possit vivus tibi te lugere peremptum, Stansque jacentem.

-Luck. iii. 911.

Thou know'st not there shall be not other thou, When thou art dead indeed, that can tell how Alive to waile thee dying, Standing to waile thee lying.

Nor shall you wish for life, which you so much desire.

No man dies before his time Nec sibi enim quisquam tum se vitamque requirit, Nec desiderium nostri nos afficit ullum.

--963, 966.

For then none for himselfe himselfe or life requires: Nor are we of our selves affected with desires.

Death is lesse to be feared than nothing, if there were any thing lesse than nothing.

—multo mortem minus ad nos esse putandum, Si minus esse potest quam quod nihil esse videmus. —970.

Death is much lesse to us, we ought esteeme, If lesse may be, than what doth nothing seeme.

Nor alive, nor dead, it doth concerne you nothing. Alive, because you are: Dead, because you are no more. Moreover, no man dies before his houre. The time you leave behinde was no more yours, than that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more.

Respice enim qu'am nil ad nos anteacta vetustas Temporis æterni fuerit.—1016.

For marke, how all antiquitie fore-gone Of all time e're we were, to us was none.

Wheresoever your life endeth, there is it all. The profit of life consists not in the space, but rather in the use. Some man hath lived long, that hath had a short life. Follow it whilest you have time. It consists not in number of yeeres, but in your will, that you have lived long enough. Did you thinke you should never come to the place, where you were still going? There is no way but hath an end. And if company

may solace you, doth not the whole world walke Death is the same path?

common to all

-Omnia te vita perfuncta sequentur. - 1012.

Life past, all things at last Shall follow thee as thou hast past.

Doe not all things move as you doe, or keepe your course? Is there any thing grows not old together with your selfe? A thousand men, a thousand beasts, and a thousand other creatures die in the very instant that you die.

Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora sequuta est, Quæ non audierit mistos vagitibus ægris Ploratus mortis comites et funeris atri.-ii. 587.

No night ensued day light: no morning followed night,

Which heard not moaning mixt with sick-mens groaning,

With deaths and funerals joyned was that moaning.

To what end recoile you from it, if you cannot goe backe? You have seene many who have found good in death, ending thereby many many But have you seene any that hath received hurt thereby? Therefore is it meere simplicitie to condemne a thing you never proved, neither by your selfe nor any other. Why doest thou complaine of me and of destinie? Doe we offer thee any wrong? is it for thee to direct us, or for us to governe thee? Although thy age be not come to her period, thy life is. A little man is a whole man as well as a great man. Neither men nor their lives are measured by the towards death

All days Ell. Chiron refused immortalitie, being informed march of the conditions thereof, even by the God of time and of continuance, Saturne his father. Imagine truly how much an ever-during life would be lesse tolerable and more painfull to a man, than is the life which I have given him: Had you not death, you would then uncessantly curse, and cry out against me, that I had deprived you of it. I have of purpose and wittingly blended some bitternesse amongst it, that so seeing the commoditie of it's use, I might hinder you from over-greedily embracing, or indiscreetly calling for it. To continue in this moderation, that is, neither to flie from life, nor to run to death (which I require of you) I have tempered both the one and other betweene sweetnes and sowrenes. I first taught Thales the chiefest of your Sages and Wisemen, that to live and die, were indifferent, which made him answer one very wisely, who asked him, wherfore he died not: Because, said he, it is indifferent. The water, the earth, the aire, the fire, and other members of this my universe, are no more the instruments of thy life, than of thy death. Why fearest thou thy last day? He is no more guiltie, and conferreth no more to thy death, than any of the others. It is not the last step that causeth wearinesse: it only declares it. All daies march towards death, only the last comes to it. Behold heere the good precepts of our universall mother Nature. I have oftentimes bethought my selfe whence it proceedeth, that in times of warre, the visage of death (whether wee see it in us or

in others) seemeth without all comparison much The lesse dreadful and terrible unto us, than in our horror houses, or in our beds, otherwise it should be an of the armie of Physitians and whiners, and she ever being one, there must needs bee much more assurance amongst countrie-people and of base condition, than in others. I verily believe, these fearefull lookes, and astonishing countenances wherewith we encompasse it, are those that more amaze and terrifie us than death: a new forme of life; the out-cries of mothers; the wailing of women and children; the visitation of dismaid and swouning friends: the assistance of a number of pale-looking, distracted, and whining servants; a darke chamber: tapers burning round about; our couch beset round with Physitians and Preachers; and to conclude, nothing but horror and astonishment on every side of us: are wee not alreadie dead and buried? The very children are afraid of their friends, when they see them masked; and so are we: The maske must as well be taken from things, as from men, which being removed, we shall finde nothing hid under it, but the very same death, that a seely varlet, or a simple maid-servant, did lately suffer without amazement or feare. Happie is that death, which takes all leasure from the preparations of such an equipage.

death-bed

CHAP. XX

Of the force of Imagination

advice of Thomas

The FORTIS imaginatio generat casum: A strong imagination begetteth chance, say learned clearks. I am one of those that feele a very great conflict and power of imagination. men are shockt therewith, and some overthrowne by it. The impression of it pierceth me, and for want of strength to resist her, my endevour is to avoid it. I could live with the only assistance of holy and merry-hearted men. The sight of others anguishes doth sensibly drive me into anguish: and my sense hath often usurped the sense of a third man. If one cough continually, he provokes my lungs and throat. I am more unwilling to visit the sicke dutie doth engage me unto, than those to whom I am little beholding, and regard least. I apprehend the evill which I studie, and place it in me. I deeme it not strange that she brings both agues and death to such as give her scope to worke her wil, and applaude her. Simon Thomas was a great Physitian in his daies. I remember upon a time comming by chance to visit a rich old man that dwelt in Tholouse, and who was troubled with the cough of the lungs, who discoursing with the said Simon Thomas of the meanes of his recoverie, he told him, that one of the best was, to give me occasion to be delighted in his companie, and that fixing his eyes upon

the livelines and freshnes of my face, and set- Too ting his thoughts upon the jolitie and vigor, realistic wherewith my youthfull age did then flourish, imaginaand filling all his senses with my florishing estate, his habitude might thereby be amended, and his health recovered. But he forgot to say, that mine might also be empaired and infected. Gallus Vibius did so well enure his minde to comprehend the essence and motions of folly, that he so transported his judgement from out his seat, as he could never afterward bring it to his right place againe: and might rightly boast, to have become a foole through wisdome. Some there are, that through feare anticipate the hangmans hand; as he did, whose friends having obtained his pardon, and putting away the cloth wherewith he was hood-winkt, that he might heare it read, was found starke dead upon the scaffold, wounded only by the stroke of imagination. Wee sweat, we shake, we grow pale, and we blush at the motions of our imaginations; and wallowing in our beds we feele our bodies agitated and turmoiled at their apprehensions, yea in such manner, as sometimes we are ready to yeeld up the spirit. And burning youth (although asleepe) is often therewith so possessed and enfolded, that dreaming it doth satisfie and enjoy her amorous desires.

Ut quasi transactis sæpe omnibu' rebu' profundant Fluminis ingentes fluctus, vestemque cruentent.

-Lucr. iv. 1027.

And if all things were done, they powre foorth streames,

And bloodie their night-garment in their dreames.

Physical effects of imagination

And although it be not strange to see some men have hornes growing upon their head in one night, that had none when they went to bed : notwithstanding the fortune or successe of Cyppus King of Italie is memorable, who because the day before he had with earnest affection, assisted and beene attentive at a bul-baiting, and having all night long dreamed of hornes in his head, by the very force of imagination brought them forth the next morning in his forehead. An earnest passion gave the son of Crasus his voice, which nature had denied him. And Antiochus got an ague, by the excellent beautie of Stratonice so deepely imprinted in his minde. Plinie reporteth to have seene Lucius Cossitius upon his marriage day to have beene transformed from a woman to a man. Pontanus and others recount the like Metamorphosies to have hapned in Italie these ages past: And through a vehement desire of him and his mother.

Vota puer solvit, quæ famina voverat Iphis.
—OVID. Metam. ix. 794.

Iphis a boy, the vowes then paid, Which he vow'd when he was a maid.

My selfe traveling on a time by Vitry in France, hapned to see a man, whom the Bishop of Soissons had in confirmation, named Germane, and all the inhabitants thereabout have both knowne and seene to be a woman-childe, untill she was two and twentie yeares of age, called by the name of Marie. He was, when I saw him, of good yeares, and had a long beard,

and was yet unmarried. He saith, that upon a Records time leaping, and straining himselfe to overleape of trances another, he wot not how, but where before he was a woman, he suddenly felt the instrument of a man to come out of him; and to this day the maidens of that towne and countrie have a song in use, by which they warne one another, when they are leaping, not to straine themselves overmuch, or open their legs too wide, for feare they should bee turned to boies, as Marie Germane was. It is no great wonder, that such accidents doe often happen, for if imagination have power in such things, it is so continually annexed, and so forcibly fastened to this subject, that lest she should so often fall into the relaps of the same thought, and sharpnesse of desire, it is better one time for all, to incorporate this virile part unto wenches. Some will not sticke to ascribe the scarres of King Dagobert, or the cicatrices of Saint Francis unto the power of Imagination. Othersome will say, that by the force of it, bodies are sometimes removed from their places. And Celsus reports of a Priest, whose soule was ravished into such an extasie, that for a long time the body remained void of all respiration and sense. Saint Augustine speaketh of another, who if hee but heard any lamentable and wailefull cries, would suddenly fall into a swowne, and bee so forcibly carried from himselfe, that did any chide and braule never so loud, pinch and thumpe him never so much, he could not be made to stirre, untill hee

Imagina- came to himselfe againe. Then would he say, tion in he had heard sundry strange voyces, comming weak as it were from a farre, and perceiving his pinches and bruses, wondered at them. And that it was not an obstinate conceit, or wilfull humour in him, or against his feeling sense, it plainly appeared by this, because during his extasie, he seemed to have neither pulse nor breath. It is very likely that the principall credit of visions, of enchantments, and such extraordinary effects, proceedeth from the power of imaginations, working especially in the mindes of the vulgar sort, as the weakest and seeliest, whose conceit and beleefe is so seized upon, that they imagine to see what they see not. I am yet in doubt, these pleasant bonds, wherewith our world is so fettered, and France so pestered, that nothing else is spoken of, are haply but the impressions of apprehension, and effects of feare. For I know by experience, that some one, for whom I may as well answer as for my selfe, and in whom no manner of suspition either of weaknesse or enchantment might fall, hearing a companion of his make report of an extraordinary faint sowning, wherein he was fallen, at such a time, as he least looked for it, and wrought him no small shame, whereupon the horrour of his report did so strongly strike his imagination, as he ranne the same fortune, and fell into a like drooping: And was thence forward subject to fall into like fits: So did the passionate remembrance of his inconvenience possesse and tyrannize him; but his fond doting was in Too time remedied by another kinde of raving. For strong himselfe avowing and publishing aforehand the desire infirmitie he was subject unto, the contention of his soule was solaced upon this, that bearing his evill as expected, his dutie thereby diminished, and he grieved lesse thereat. And when at his choice, he hath had law and power (his thought being cleered and unmasked, his body finding it selfe in his right due and place) to make the same to be felt, seized upon, and apprehended by others knowledge: he hath fully and perfectly recovered himselfe. If a man have once beene capable, he cannot afterward be incapable, except by a just and absolute weaknesse. Such a mischiefe is not to be feared, but in the enterprises, where our minde is beyond all measure bent with desire and respect; and chiefly where opportunitie comes unexpected, and requires a sudden dispatch. There is no meanes for a man to recover himselfe from this trouble; I know some, who have found to come unto it with their bodies as it were halfe glutted else - where, thereby to stupifie or allay the heat of that furie, and who through age, finde themselves lesse unable, by how much more they be lesse able: And another, who hath also found good, in that a friend of his assured him to bee provided with a counter-battery of forcible enchantments, to preserve him in any such conflict: It is not amisse I relate how it was. An Earle of very good place, with

The gift whom I was familiarly acquainted, being mar-of Pele- ried to a very faire Lady, who had long beene tier solicited for love, by one assisting at the wed-ding, did greatly trouble his friends; but most of all an old Lady his kins-woman, who was chiefe at the marriage, and in whose house it was solemnized, as she that much feared such sorceries and witchcrafts: which shee gave mee to understand, I comforted her as well as I could, and desired her to relie upon me: I had by chance a peece of golden plate in my trunke, wherein were ingraven certaine celestiall figures, good against the Sunne-beames, and for the head-ach, being fitly laid upon the suture of the head: and that it might the better be kept there, it was sewed to a riband, to be fastened under the chin. A fond doting conceit, and cosin-germane to that wee now speake of. James Peletier had whilest he lived in my house, bestowed that singular gift upon mee; I advised my selfe to put it to some use, and told the Earle, he might haply be in danger, and come to some misfortune as others had done, the rather because some were present, that would not sticke to procure him some ill lucke, and which was worse, some spitefull shame; but neverthelesse I willed him boldly to goe to bed: For I would shew him the part of a true friend, and in his need, spare not for his good to employ a miracle, which was in my power; alwaies provided, that on his honour he would promise me faithfully to keepe it very secret; which was only, that when about midnight he should have his [caudle] brought him, And its if he had had no good successe in his busi- use nesse, he should make such and such a signe to me. It fel out, his mind was so quailed, and his eares so dulled, that by reason of the bond wherewith the trouble of his imagination had tied him, hee could not run on poste: and at the houre appointed, made the signe agreed upon betweene us, I came and whispered him in the eare, that under pretence to put us all out of his chamber, he should rise out of his bed, and in jesting manner take my nightgowne which I had on, and put it upon himselfe (which he might well doe, because wee were much of one stature) and keepe it on till he had performed my appointment, which was, that when we should be gone out of the Chamber, he should withdraw himselfe to make water, and using certaine jestures, I had shewed him, speake such words thrice over. And every time hee spake them he should girt the ribband, which I put into his hands, and very carefully place the plate thereto fastned, just upon his kidneyes, and the whole figure, in such a posture. All which when he had accordingly done, and the last time so fastened the ribband, that it might neither be untide nor stirred from his place, he should then boldly and confidently returne to his charge, and not forget to spread my night-gowne upon his bed, but so as it might cover them both. These fopperies are the chiefe of the effect. Our thought being unable so to free it selfe, but some strange

craft

Mon- meanes will proceed from some abstruse learntaigne ing: Their inanitie gives them weight and hates credit. To conclude, it is most certaine, my Characters proved more venerian than solare, more in action, than in prohibition. It was a ready and curious humour drew me to this effect, farre from my nature. I am an enemie to craftie and fained actions, and hate all suttletie in my hands, not only recreative, but also profitable. If the action be not vicious, the course unto it is faultie. Amasis King of Ægypt, tooke to wife Laodice, a very beauteous yong virgin of Greece, and he that before had in every other place found and shewed himselfe a lustie gallant, found himselfe so short, when he came to grapple with her, that he threatned to kill her, supposing it had beene some charme or sorcerie. As in all things that consist in the fantasie, she addrest him to devotion. And having made his vowes and promises to Venus, he found himselfe divinely freed, even from the first night of his oblations and sacrifices. Now they wrong us, to receive and admit us with their wanton, squeamish, quarellous countenances, which setting us a fire, extinguish us.

Pythagoras his neece was wont to say, That a woman which lies with a man ought, together with her petie-coate, leave off all bashfulnesse, and with her petie-coate, take the same againe. The minde of the assailant molested with sundry different alarums, is easily dismaid. And he whom imagination hath once made to suffer

this shame (and she hath caused the same to Importube felt but in the first acquaintances; because nity to be they are then burning and violent, and in the curbed first acquaintance and comming together, or triall a man gives of himselfe, he is much more afraid and quaint to misse the marke he shoots at) having begun ill he fals into an ague or spite of this accident, which afterward continueth in succeeding occasions. Married men, because time is at their command, and they may go to it when they list, ought never to presse or importune their enterprise, unlesse they be readie. And it is better undecently to faile in hanseling the nuptiall bed, full of agitation and fits, by waiting for some or other fitter occasion, and more private opportunitie, lest sudden and alarmed, than to fall into a perpetuall miserie, by apprehending an astonishment and desperation of the first refusall. Before possession taken, a patient ought by sallies, and divers times, lightly assay and offer himselfe without vexing or opiniating himselfe, definitively to convince himselfe. Such as know their members docile and tractable by nature, let them only endevour to countercosin their fantasie. Men have reason to checke the indocile libertie of this member, for so importunately insinuating himselfe when we have no need of him, and so importunately, or as I may say impertinently failing, at what time we have most need of him; and so imperiously contesting by his authority with our will, refusing with such fiercenes and obstinacie our

All members war against the will

solicitations both mentall and manuall. Neverthelesse if a man inasmuch as he doth gormandize and devour his rebellion, and drawes a triall by his condemnation, would pay me for to plead his cause, I would peradventure make other of our members to be suspected to have (in envy of his importance, and sweet-nesse of his use) devised this imposture, and framed this set quarrell against him, and by some malicious complot armed the world against him, enviously charging him alone with a fault common to them all. For I referre it to your thought, whether there be any one particular part of our body, that doth not sometimes refuse her particular operation to our will and wish, and that doth not often exercise and practise against our will. All of them have their proper passions, which without any leave of ours doe either awaken or lull them asleepe. How often doe the forced motions and changes of our faces witnesse the secretest and most lurking thoughts we have, and bewray them to by-standers? The same cause that doth animate this member, doth also, unwitting to us, embolden our heart, our lungs, and our pulses. The sight of a pleasing object, reflecting imperceptibly on us, the flame of a contagious or aguish emotion. Is there nought besides these muscles and veines, that rise and fall without the consent, not only of our will, but also of our thought? We cannot command our haire to stand an end, nor our skinne to startle for desire or feare. Our hands are often carried where we direct them not. Our tongue and voice are sometimes to Control seeke of their faculties, the one loseth her of the speech, the other her nimblenesse. Even when we have nothing to feed upon, we would willingly forbid it: the appetites to eat, or list to drinke, doe not leave to move the parts subject to them, even as this other appetite, and so, though it be out of season, forsaketh us, when he thinks good. Those instruments that serve to discharge the belly, have their proper compressions and dilatations, besides our intent, and against our meaning, as these are destined to discharge the kidneis. And that which, the better to authorize our wills power, Saint Augustin alleageth, to have seene one, who could at all times command his posterior, to let as many scapes as he would, and which Vives endeareth by the example of an other in his daies, who could let tunable and organized ones, following the tune of any voice propounded unto his eares, inferreth the pure obedience of that member: than which, none is commonly more indiscreet and tumultuous. Seeing my selfe know one so skittish and mutinous, that these fortie yeares keepes his master in such awe, that will he, or nill he, he will with a continuall breath, constant and unintermitted custome breake winde at his pleasure, and so brings him to his grave. And would to God I knew it but by Histories, how that many times our belly, being restrained thereof, brings us even to the gates of a pining and languishing death: And that the Emperour, who gave us free leave to vent at all times, and every where, had

will follow her course

Nature also given us the power to doe it. But our will, by whose privilege we advance this reproch, how much more likely, and consonant to trueth may we tax it of rebellion, and accuse it of sedition, by reason of its unrulinesse and disobedience? Will shee at all times doe that, which we would have her willingly to doe? Is shee not often willing to effect that, which we forbid her to desire? and that to our manifest prejudice and dammage? Doth she suffer her selfe to be directed by the conclusions of our reason? To conclude, I would urge in defence of my client, that it would please the Judges to consider, that concerning this matter, his cause being inseperably conjoyned to a consort, and indistinctly: yet will not a man addresse himselfe but to him, both by the arguments and charges, which can no way appertaine to his said consort. For, his effect is indeed sometime importunately to invite, but to refuse never: and also to invite silently and quietly. Therefore is the sawcinesse and illegalitie of the accusers seene. Howsoever it be, protesting that Advocates and Judges may wrangle, contend, and give sentence, what, and how they please, Nature will in the meane time follow her course: who, had she endued this member with any particular privilege, yet had she done but right, and shewed but reason. Author of the only immortall worke, of mortall men. Divine worke according to Socrates; and love, desire of immortalitie, and immortall Damon himselfe. Some man peradventure, by the effects of imagination leaveth the pox or Kings evill

heere, which his companion carrieth into Spaine The tale againe: loe heere why in such cases men are of the accustomed to require a prepared minde, where- apothefore doe Physitians labour and practise before hand the conceit and credence of their patients, with so many false promises of their recoverie and health, unlesse it be that the effect of imagination may supple and prepare the imposture of their decoction? They knew that one of their trades-master hath left written, how some men have been found, in whom the only sight of a potion hath wrought his due operation: All which humor or caprice is now come into my minde, upon the report which an Apothecarie, whilome a servant in my fathers house, was wont to tell me, a man by knowledge simple, and by birth a Switzer; a nation little vaine-glorious, and not much given to lying, which was, that for a long time he had knowne a Merchant in Tholouse, sickish, and much troubled with the stone, and who often had need of glisters, who according to the fits and occurrences of his evill, caused them diversly to be prescribed by Physitians. Which being brought him, no accustomed forme to them belonging was omitted, and would often taste whether they were too hot, and view them well, and lying along upon his bed, on his bellie, and all complements performed, only injection excepted, which ceremony ended, the Apothecarie gone, and the patient lying in his bed, even as if he had received a glister indeed, he found and felt the very same effect, which they doe that have effectually taken them. And

and the pin

The if the Physitian saw it had not wrought suffiwoman ciently, he would accordingly give him two or three more in the same manner. My witnesse protesteth, that the sicke mans wife, to save charges (for he paid for them as if he had received them) having sometimes assaid to make them onely with luke warme water, the effect discovered the craft, and being found not to worke at all, they were forced to returne to the former, and use the Apothecarie. A woman supposing to have swallowed a pinne with her bread, cried and vexed her-selfe, even as if she had felt an intolerable paine in her throat, where she imagined the same to sticke; but because there appeared neither swelling or alteration, a skilfull man deeming it to be but a fantasie conceived, or opinion, apprehended by eating of some gretty peece of bread, which haply might pricke her in the swallow, made her to vomit, and unknowne to her, cast a pinne in that which she had vomited. Which the woman perceiving, and imagining she had cast the same, was presently eased of her paine. I have knowne a Gentleman, who having feasted a company of very honest Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, in his owne house, by way of sport, and in jest, boasted two or three daies after (for there was no such thing) that he had made them eat of a baked Cat; whereat [a] Gentlewoman of the companie apprehended such horror, that falling into a violent ague and distemper of her stomacke, she could by no meanes be recovered. Even brute beasts, as well as we, are seene to be subject to

the power of imagination; witnesse some Dogs, Animals who for sorrow of their Masters death are seene subject to to die, and whom we ordinarily see to startle and the power barke in their sleep, and horses to neigh and of imagistruggle. But all this may be referred to the narrow suture of the Spirit and the body, entercommunicating their fortunes one unto another. It is another thing, that imagination doth sometimes worke, not only against her owne body, but also against that of others. And even as one

Dum spectant oculi læsos, læduntur et ipsi: Multaque corporibus transitione nocent. -Ovid. Am. ii. 219.

body ejecteth a disease to his neighbour, as doth evidently appeare by the plague, pox, or sore

eies, that goe from one to another:

Eies become sore, while they looke on sore eies: By passage many ills our limmes surprise.

Likewise the imagination moved and tossed by some vehemence, doth cast some darts, that may offend a strange object. Antiquitie hath held, that certaine women of Scithia, being provoked and vexed against some men, had the power to kill them, only with their looke. Tortoises and the Estriges hatch their egges with their looks only, a signe that they have some ejaculative vertue. And concerning witches they are said to have offensive and harme-working eies.

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos. -VIRG. Buc. Ecl. iii. 103.

My tender Lambs I cannot see, By what bad eie, bewitched be. the eyes

Magitians are but ill respondents for me. So power of it is, that by experience wee see women to transferre divers markes of their fantasies, unto children they beare in their wombes: witnes she that brought forth a Blacke-a-more. There was also presented unto Charles King of Bohemia, an Emperour, a young girle, borne about Pisa, all shagd and hairy over and over, which her mother said, to have beene conceived so, by reason of an image of Saint John Baptist, that was so painted, and hung over her bed. That the like is in beasts, is witnessed by Jacobs sheepe, and also by partriges and hares, that grow white by the snow upon mountaines. There was lately seene a cat about my owne house, so earnestly eyeing a bird, sitting upon a tree, that he seeing the Cat, they both so wistly fixed their looks one upon another, so long, that at last, the bird fell downe as dead in the Cats pawes, either drunken by his owne strong imagination, or drawne by some attractive power of the Cat. Those that love hawking, have haply heard the Falkner tale, who earnestly fixing his sight upon a Kite in the aire, laid a wager that with the only force of his looke, he would make it come stooping downe to the ground, and as some report did it many times. The Histories I borrow, I referre to the consciences of those I take them from. The discourses are mine, and hold together by the proofe of reason, not of experiences: each man may adde his example to them: and who hath none, considering the number and varietie of accidents, let him not

leave to think, there are store of them. If I Moncome not well for my selfe, let another come for taigne's me. So in the studie wherein I treat of our use of histories manners and motions, the fabulous testimonies, alwaies provided they be likely and possible, may serve to the purpose, as well as the true, whether it hapned or no, be it at Rome, or at Paris, to John or Peter, it is alwaies a tricke of humane capacitie, of which I am profitably advised by this report. I see it and reape profit by it, as well in shadow as in bodie. And in divers lessons that often histories afford, I commonly make use of that, which is most rare and memorable. Some writers there are, whose end is but to relate the events. Mine, if I could attaine to it, should be to declare, what may come to passe, touching the same. It is justly allowed in schooles, to suppose similitudes, when they have none. Yet doe not I so, and concerning that point, in superstitious religion, I exceed all historicall credit. To the examples I here set downe, of what I have read, heard, done, or seene, I have forbid my selfe so much as to dare to change the least, or alter the idlest circumstances. My conscience doth not falsifie the least jot. I wot not whether my insight doth. Concerning this subject I doe sometimes enter into conceit, that it may well become a Divine, a Philosopher, or rather men of exquisite conscience, and exact wisdome, to write histories. How can they otherwise engage their credit upon a popular reputation? How can they answer for the thoughts of unknowne persons? And make

The their bare conjectures passe for currant paiment? essence Of the actions of divers members, acted in their of Mon-taigne's presence, they would refuse to beare witnes of style them, if by a judge they were put to their corporall oath. And there is no man so familiarly knowne to them, of whose inward intention they would undertake to answer at full. I hold it lesse hazardous to write of things past, than present; forasmuch as the writer is not bound to give account but of a borrowed trueth. Some perswade mee to write the affaires of my time, imagining I can see them with a sight lesse blinded with passion, than other men, and perhaps neerer, by reason of the accesse which fortune hath given me to the chiefest of divers factions. But they will not say, how for the glory of Salust, I would not take the paines; as one that am a vowed enemie to observance, to assiduitie, and to constancie, and that there is nothing so contrarie to my stile, as a continued narration. doe so often for want of breath breake off and interrupt my selfe. I have neither composition nor explication of any worth. I am as ignorant as a childe of the phrases and vowels belonging to common things. And therefore have I attempted to say what I can, accommodating the matter to my power. Should I take any man for a guide, my measure might differ from his. For, my libertie being so farre, I might haply publish judgements, agreeing with me, and consonant to reason, yet unlawfull and punishable. Plutarke would peradventure tell us of that which he hath written, that it is the worke of others,

that his examples are in all and everie where Oneman's true, that they are profitable to posteritie, and meat is presented with a lustre, that lights and directs another us unto vertue, and that is his worke. It is not poison dangerous, as in a medicinable drug, whether in an old tale or report, be it thus or thus, so or so.

CHAP. XXI

The profit of one man is the dammage of another

DEMADES the Athenian condemned a man of the Citie, whose trade was to sell such necessaries as belonged to burials, under colour, hee asked too much profit for them: and that such profit could not come unto him without the death of many people. This judgement seemeth to be ill taken, because no man profiteth but by the losse of others: by which reason a man should condemne all manner of gaine. The Merchant thrives not but by the licentiousnesse of youth; the Husbandman by dearth of corne; the Architect but by the ruine of houses; the Lawyer by suits and controversies betweene men: Honour it selfe, and practice of religious Ministers, is drawne from our death and vices. No Physitian delighteth in the health of his owne friend, saith the ancient Greeke Comike: nor no Souldier is pleased with the peace of his Citie, and so of the rest. And which is worse, let every man sound

Custom a hardtaskmistress his owne conscience, hee shall finde, that our inward desires are for the most part nourished and bred in us by the losse and hurt of others; which when I considered, I began to thinke, how Nature doth not gainesay herselfe in this, concerning her generall policie: for Physitians hold, that The birth, increase, and augmentation of every thing, is the alteration and corruption of another.

Nam quodcunque suis mutatum finibus exit,

Continuò hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante.

—Lucr. 687, 813; ii. 762; iii. 536.

What ever from it's bounds doth changed passe, That strait is death of that which erst it was.

CHAP. XXII

Of custome, and how a received law should not easily be changed

M Y opinion is, that hee conceived aright of the force of custome, that first invented this tale; how a country woman having enured herselfe to cherish and beare a young calfe in her armes, which continuing, shee got such a custome, that when he grew to be a great oxe, shee carried him still in her armes. For truly, Custome is a violent and deceiving schoole-mistris. She by little and little, and as it were by stealth, establisheth the foot of her authoritie in us; by which mild and gentle beginning, if once by the aid of time, it have setled and planted the same in us, it will

soone discover a furious and tyrannicall counten- Great is ance unto us, against which we have no more the the force libertie to lift so much as our eies; wee may of custom plainly see her upon every occasion to force the rules of Nature: Usus efficacissimus rerum omnium magister (PLIN. Epis. XX.): Use is the most effectuall master of all things. I beleeve Platoes den mentioned in his common-wealth, and the Physitians that so often quit their arts reason by authoritie; and the same King who by meanes of her, ranged his stomacke to be nourished with poyson; and the mayden that Albert mentioneth to have accustomed herselfe to live upon spiders: and now in the new-found world of the Indians, there were found divers populous nations, in farre differing climates, that lived upon them; made provision of them, and carefully fed them; as also of grasse-hoppers, pissemires, lizards, and night-bats; and a toad was sold for six crownes in a time that all such meats were scarce amongst them, which they boyle, rost, bake, and dresse with divers kinds of sawces. Others have beene found to whom our usuall flesh and other meats were mortall and venomous. Consuetudinis magna est vis; Pernoctant venatores in nive, in montibus uri se patiuntur: Pugiles castibus contusi, ne ingemiscunt quidem (C1c. Tusc. Qu. ii.). Great is the force of custome: Huntsmen wil watch all night in snow, and endure to bee scorched on the hils: Fencers brused with sand-bags or cudgels, doe not so much as groane. These forrein examples are not strange, if wee but consider what we ordinarily finde by travell, and how custome quaileth

The and weakeneth our customary senses. We need jerkin and not goe seeke what our neighbours report of the the bells Cataracts of Nile; and what Philosophers deeme of the celestiall musicke, which is, that the bodies of it's circles, being solid smooth, and in their rowling motion, touching and rubbing one against another, must of necessitie produce a wonderfull harmonie: by the changes and entercaprings of which, the revolutions, motions, cadences, and carrols of the asters and planets are caused and transported. But that universally the hearing senses of these low worlds creatures, dizzied and lulled asleepe, as those of the Ægyptians are, by the continuation of that sound, how loud and great soever it be, cannot sensibly perceive or distinguish the same. Smiths, Millers, Forgers, Armorers, and such other, could not possibly endure the noise that commonly rings in their eares, if it did pierce them as it doth us. My perfumed Jerkin serveth for my nose to smell unto, but after I have worne it three or foure daies together, not I, but others have the benefit of it. This is more strange, that notwithstanding long intermissions, custome may joyne and establish the effect of her impression upon our senses; as they prove that dwell neere to bells or steeples. I have my lodging neere unto a tower, where both evening and morning a very great bell doth chime Ave marie and Cover-few, which jangling doth even make the tower to shake; at first it troubled me much, but I was soone acquainted with it, so that now I am nothing offended with it, and many times

it cannot waken me out of my sleepe. Plato Custom did once chide a child for playing with nuts, takes root who answered him, Thou chidest me for a small in infancy matter. Custome (replied Plato) is no small matter. I finde that our greatest vices make their first habit in us, from our infancie, and that our chiefe government and education, lieth in our nurses hands. Some mothers thinke it good sport to see a childe wring off a chickens necke, and strive to beat a dog or cat. And some fathers are so fond-foolish, that they will conster as a good Augur or fore-boding of a martiall minde to see their sonnes misuse a poore peasant, or tug a lackey, that doth not defend himselfe; and impute it to a ready wit, when by some wily disloyaltie, or crafty deceit, they see them cousin and over-reach their fellowes: yet are they the true seeds or roots of cruelty, of tyranny, and of treason. In youth they bud, and afterward grow to strength, and come to perfection by meanes of custome.

And it is a very dangerous institution, to excuse so base and vile inclinations, with the weaknesse of age, and lightnesse of the subject. First, it is nature that speaketh, whose voice is then shriller, purer, and more native, when it is tender, newer, and youngest. Secondly, the deformity of the crime consisteth not in the difference betweene crownes and pinnes; it depends of it selfe. I finde it more just to conclude thus: Why should not hee as well deceive one of a crowne, as he doth of a pinne? than as commonly some doe, saying, alas, it is but a

Play the pinne; I warrant you, he will not doe so with game crownes. A man would carefully teach children to hate vices of their owne genuity, and so distinguish the deformity of them, that they may not only eschew them in their actions, but above all, hate them in their hearts: and what colour soever they beare, the very conceit may seeme odious unto them. I know well, that because in my youth I have ever accustomed my selfe to tread a plaine beaten path, and have ever hated to entermeddle any manner of deceipt of cousoning-craft, even in my childish sports (for truly it is to be noted, that Childrens playes are not sports, and should be deemed as their most serious actions.) There is no pastime so slight, that inwardlie I have not a naturall propension, and serious care, yea extreme contradiction, not to use any deceipt. I shuffle and handle the cards, as earnestly for counters, and keepe as strict an accompt, as if they were double duckets, when playing with my wife or children, it is indifferent to mee whether I win or lose, as I doe when I play in good earnest. How and wheresoever it be, mine owne eies will suffice to keepe me in office; none else doe watch mee so narrowly; [nor] that I respect more. It is not long since in mine owne house, I saw a little man, who at Nantes was borne without armes, and hath so well fashioned his feet to those services, his hands should have done him, that in truth they have almost forgotten their naturall office. In all his discourses he nameth them his hands, he carveth any meat, he chargeth and shoots off a pistole, he threds a needle, he soweth, he Strange writeth, puts off his cap, combeth his head, effects of plaieth at cards and dice; shuffleth and handleth custom them with a great dexteritie as any other man that hath the perfect use of his hands: the monie I have sometimes given him, he hath caried away with his feet, as well as any other could doe with his hands. I saw another, being a Childe, that with the bending and winding of his necke, (because hee had no hands) would brandish a two-hand-Sword, and mannage a Holbard, as nimbly as any man could doe with his hands: he would cast them in the aire, then receive them againe, he would throw a Dagger, and make a whip to yarke and lash, as cunningly as any Carter in France. But her effects are much better discovered in the strange impressions, which it worketh in our mindes where it meetes not so much resistance. What cannot she bring to passe in our judgements, and in our conceits? Is there any opinion so fantastical, or conceit so extravagant (I omit to speake of the grosse imposture of religions, wherewith so many great nations and so many worthy and sufficient men have beene besotted, and drunken: For, being a thing beyond the compasse of our humane reason, it is more excusable if a man that is not extraordinarily illuminated thereunto by divine favour, doe lose and mis-carrie himselfe therein) or of other opinions, is there any so strange, that custome hath not planted and established by lawes in what regions soever it hath thought good? And this ancient exclamaCustom justifies strange fantasies

tion is most just: Non pudet physicum, id est speculatorem venatoremque natura, ab animis consuetudine imbutis quærere testimonium veritatis? (Cic. Nat. De. i.). Is it not a shame for a naturall Philosopher, that is the watch-man and huntsman of nature, to seeke the testimonie of truth, from mindes endued and double dide with custome? I am of opinion, that no fantasie so mad can fall into humane imagination, that meetes not with the example of some publike custome, and by consequence that our reason doth not ground and bring to a stay. There are certaine people, that turne their backs towards those they salute, and never looke him in the face whom they would honour or worship. There are others, who when the King spitteth, the most favoured Ladie in his court stretcheth forth her hand; and in another countrey, where the noblest about him, stoope to the ground to gather his ordure in some fine linnen cloth: Let us here by the way insert a tale. A French Gentleman was ever wont to blow his nose in his hand, (a thing much against our fashion) maintaining his so doing; and who in wittie jesting was very famous. He asked me on a time, what privilege this filthie excrement had, that wee should have a daintie linnen cloth or handkercher to receive the same; and which is worse, so carefully fold it up, and keepe the same about us, which should be more loathsome to ones stomacke, than to see it cast away, as wee doe all our other excrements and filth. Mee thought he spake not altogether without reason; and custome had taken from me

the discerning of this strangenesse, which being Human reported of an other countrie we deeme so hideous. reason Miracles are according to the ignorance wherein where we are by nature, and not according to natures essence; use brings the sight of our judgement asleepe. The barbarous heathen are nothing more strange to us, than we are to them: nor with more occasion, as every man would avow, if after he had travelled through these farre-fetcht examples, hee could stay himselfe upon the discourses, and soundly conferre them. Humane reason is a tincture in like weight and measure, infused into all our opinions and customes, what form soever they be of: infinite in matter: infinite in diversitie. But I will returne to my theme. There are certaine people, where, except his wife and children, no man speaketh to the King, but through a trunke. Another nation, where virgins shew their secret parts openly, and married women diligently hide and cover them. To which custome, this fashion used in other places, hath some relation: where chastitie is nothing regarded but for marriage sake; and maidens may at their pleasure lie with whom they list; and being with childe, they may without feare of accusation, spoyle and cast their children, with certaine medicaments, which they have only for that purpose. And in another country, if a Merchant chance to marrie, all other Merchants that are bidden to the wedding, are bound to lie with the bride before her husband, and the more they are in number, the more honour and commendation is hers, for constancie and

Marriage capacitie: the like if a gentleman or an officer customs marrie; and so of all others: except it be a day-labourer, or some other of base condition; for then must the Lord or Prince lie with the bride; amongst whom (notwithstanding this abusive custome) loyaltie in married women is highly regarded, and held in speciall account, during the time they are married. Others there are, where publike brothel-houses of men are kept, and where open mart of marriages are ever to be had: where women goe to the warres with their husbands, and have place, not onely in fight, but also in command, where they doe not onely weare jewels at their noses, in their lip and cheekes, and in their toes, but also big wedges of gold through their paps and buttocks, where when they eat, they wipe their fingers on their thighs, on the bladder of their genitories, and the soles of their feet, where not children, but brethren and nephewes inherit; and in some places, the nephewes onely, except in the succession of the Prince. Where to order the communitie of goods, which amongst them is religiously observed, certaine Soveraigne Magistrats have the generall charge of husbandry and tilling of the lands, and of the distribution of the fruits, according to every mans need: where they howle and weepe at their childrens deaths, and joy and feast at their old mens decease. Where ten or twelve men lie all in one bed with all their wives, where such women as lose their husbands, by any violent death, may marrie againe, others not: where the condition of

women is so detested, that they kill all the The maiden children, so soone as they are borne, and Elysian to supply their naturall need, they buy women fields of their neighbours. Where men may at their pleasure, without alleaging any cause, put away their wives, but they (what just reason soever they have) can never put away their husbands. Where husbands may lawfully sell their wives, if they be barren. Where they cause dead bodies first to be boyled, and then to be brayed in a morter, so long till it come to a kind of pap, which afterward they mingle with their wine, and so drinke it. Where the most desired sepulcher that some wish for, is to bee devoured of dogges, and in some places of birds. Where some thinke, that blessed soules live in all liberty, in certaine pleasant fields stored with al commodities, and that from them proceeds that Eccho, which we heare. Where they fight in the water, and shoot exceeding true with their bowes as they are swimming. Where in signe of subjection men must raise their shoulders, and stoope with their heads, and put off their shooes when they enter their Kings houses. Where Eunuchs that have religious women in keeping, because they shall not be loved, have also their noses and lips cut off. And Priests that they may the better acquaint themselves with their Demons, and take their Oracles, put out their eyes. Where every man makes himselfe a God of what he pleaseth: the hunter of a Lion or a Fox; the fisher, of a certaine kinde of Fish; and frame themselves Idols of every humane

Customs of kings and states action or passion: the Sunne, the Moone, and the earth are their chiefest Gods: the forme of swearing is, to touch the ground, looking upon the Sunne, and where they eat both flesh and fish raw. Where the greatest oath is to sweare by the name of some deceased man, that hath lived in good reputation in the countrie, touching his grave with the hand. Where the new-yeares gifts that Kings send unto Princes their vassals every yeare, is some fire, which when it is brought, all the old fire is cleane put out: of which new fire all the neighbouring people are bound upon paine lasa majestatis, to fetch for their uses. Where, when the King (which often commeth to passe) wholly to give himselfe unto devotion, giveth over his charge, his next successor is bound to doe like, and convayeth the right of the Kingdome unto the third heire. Where they diversifie the forme of policie, according as their affaires seeme to require: and where they depose their Kings, when they thinke good, and appoint them certaine ancient grave men to undertake and weald the Kingdoms government, which sometimes is also committed to the communaltie. Where both men and women are equally circumcised, and alike baptised. Where the Souldier, that in one or divers combats hath presented his King with seven enemies heads, is made noble. Where some live under that so rare and unsociable opinion of the mortalitie of soules. Where women are brought a bed without paine or griefe. Where women on both their legs weare greaves of Copper: and

if a louse bite them, they are bound by duty of Salutes, magnanimitie to bite it againe: and no maid mardare marrie, except she have first made offer of riages, her Virginitie to the King. Where they salute one another laying the forefinger on the ground, and then lifting it up toward heaven: where all men beare burthens upon their head, and women on their shoulders. Where women pisse stand-ing, and men cowring. Where in signe of true friendship they send one another some of their owne bloud, and offer incense to men which they intend to honour, as they doe to their Gods: where not onely kindred and consanguinitie in the fourth degree, but in any furthest off, can by no meanes be tolerated in marriages: where children sucke till they be four, and sometimes twelve yeares old, in which place they deeme it a dismall thing to give a childe sucke the first day of his birth. Where fathers have the charge to punish their male-children, and mothers onely maid-children, and whose punishment is to hang them up by the feet and so to smoke them. Where women are circumcised; where they eat all manner of herbes, without other distinction, but to refuse those that have ill favour: where all things are open, and how faire and rich soever their houses be, they have neither doores nor windowes, nor any chests to locke; yet are all theeves much more severely punished there, than any where else; where, as monkies doe, they kill lice with their teeth, and thinke it a horrible matter to see them crusht between their nailes; where men so long as they live never cut their

Customs haire, nor paire their nailes: another place where of women they onely paire the nailes of their right hand, and those of the left are never cut, but very curiously maintained: where they indevour to cherish all the haire growing on the right side, as long as it will grow: and very often shave away that of the left-side: where in some Provinces neere unto us, some women cherish their haire before, and other some that behinde, and shave the contrarie: where fathers lend their children, and husbands their wives to their guests, so that they pay ready mony: where men may lawfully get their mothers with childe: where fathers may lie with their daughters, and with their sonnes: where, in solemne assemblies and banquets, without any distinction of bloud or alliance, men will lend one another their children. In some places men feede upon humane flesh. and in others, where it is deemed an office of pietie in children to kill their fathers at a certaine age: in other places fathers appoint what children shall live, and be preserved, and which die and be cast out, whilest they are yet in their mothers wombe: where old husbands lend their wives to yong men, for what use soever they please: In other places, where al women are common without sinne or offence: yea in some places, where for a badge of honour, they weare as many frienged tassels, fastened to the skirt of their garment as they have laine with severall men. Hath not custome also made a severall common-wealth of women? hath it not taught them to manage Armes? to levie Armies, to

marshall men, and to deliver battles? And that The which strict-searching Philosophie could never Spartan perswade the wisest, doth she not of her owne boys naturall instinct teach it to the grosest headed vulgar? For we know whole nations, where death is not only con[t]emned, but cherished; where children of seven yeares of age, without changing of countenance, or shewing any signe of dismay, endured to be whipped to death; where riches and worldly pelfe was so despised and holden so contemptible, that the miserablest and neediest wretch of a Citie would have scorned to stoope for a purse full of gold. Have we not heard of divers most fertile regions, plenteously yeelding al maner of necessary victuals, where neverthelesse the most ordinary cates and daintiest dishes, were but bread, water-cresses, and water? Did not custome worke this wonder in Chios, that during the space of seven hundred yeres it was never found or heard of, that any woman or maiden had her honor or honestie called in question? And to conclude, there is nothing in mine opinion, that either she doth not, or cannot: and with reason doth Pindarus, as I have heard say, Call her the Queene and Empresse of all the world. He that was met beating of his father, answered, It was the custome of his house; that his father had so beaten his grandfather, and he his great-grandfather, and pointing to his sonne, said, this child shall also beat mee, when he shall come to my age. And the father, whom the sonne haled and dragged through thicke and thinne in the street, commanded him to stay at a certaine

In the doore, for himself had dragged his father no toils of further: which were the bounds of the heredicustom tarie and injurious demeanours the children of that family were wont to shew their fathers. By custome, saith Aristotle, as often as by sicknesse, doe we see women tug and teare their haires, bite their nailes, and eat cole and earth: and more by custome than by nature doe men meddle and abuse themselves with men. The lawes of conscience, which we say to proceed from nature, rise and proceed of custome: every man holding in special regard, and inward veneration the opinions approved, and customes received about him, cannot without remorse leave them, nor without applause applie himselfe unto them: when those of Creet would in former ages curse any man, they besought the Gods to engage him in some bad custome. But the chiefest effect of her power is to seize upon us, and so to entangle us, that it shall hardly lie in us, to free our selves from her hold-fast, and come into our wits againe, to discourse and reason of her ordinances; verily, because wee sucke them with the milke of our birth, and forasmuch as the worlds visage presents it selfe in that estate unto our first view, it seemeth we are borne with a condition to follow that course. And the common imaginations we finde in credit about us, and by our fathers seed infused in our soule, seeme to be the generall and naturall. Whereupon it followeth, that whatsoever is beyond the compasse of custome, wee deeme likewise to bee beyond the compasse of reason; God knowes

how for the most part, unreasonably. If as we, Loyalty who study our selves, have learned to doe, every to accus-man that heareth a just sentence, would presently consider, how it may in any sort belonging unto his private state, each man should finde, that this is not so much a good word, as a good blow to the ordinary sottishnesse of his judgement. But men receive the admonitions of truth and her precepts, as directed to the vulgar, and never to themselves; and in liew of applying them to their maners, most men most foolishly and unprofitably apply them to their memorie. But let us returne to customes soveraignty: such as are brought up to libertie, and to command themselves, esteeme all other forme of policie, as monstrous and against nature. Those that are enured to Monarchie doe the like. And what facilitie soever fortune affoordeth them to change, even when with great difficultie they have shaken off the importunitie of a tutor, they run to plant a new one with semblable difficulties, because they cannot resolve themselves to hate tutorship. It is by the [mediation] of custome, that every man is contented with the place where nature hath setled him: and the savage people of Scotland have nought to doe with Touraine, nor the Scithians with Thessalie. Darius demanded of certaine Gracians, For what they would take upon them the Indians custome, to eat their deceased fathers. (For such was their maner, thinking they could not possibly give them a more noble and favourable tombe, than in their owne bowels) they answered him,

Grecian burial

Indian That nothing in the world should ever bring them and to embrace so inhumane a custome: But having also attempted to perswade the Indians to leave their fashion, and take the Græcians, which was to burne their corpes, they were much more astonied thereat. Every man doth so, forsomuch as custome doth so bleare us that we cannot distinguish the true visage of things.

> Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam Principio, quod non mimuant mirarier omnes Paulatim. - Luc. ii. 1037.

Nothing at first so wondrous is, so great, But all, t'admire, by little slake their heat.

Having other times gone about to endeare, and make some one of our observations to be of force, and which was with resolute auctoritie received in most parts about us, and not desiring, as most men doe, onely to establish the same by the force of lawes and examples, but having ever bin from her beginning, I found the foundation of it so weak, that my selfe, who was to confirme it in others, had much adoe to keepe my coun-This is the receipt by which Plato undertaketh to banish the unnaturall and preposterous loves of his time, and which hee esteemeth Soveraigne and principall: To wit, that publike opinion may condemne them; that Poets, and all men else may tell horrible tales of them. A receit by meanes whereof the fairest Daughters winne no more the love of their fathers, nor brethren most excellent in beautie, the love of their sisters. The very fables of Thyestes, of

lea- Violent

Oedipus, and of Macareus, having with the plea- Violent sure of their songs infused this profitable opinion, prejudice in the tender conceit of children. Certes, of custom chastitie is an excellent vertue, the commoditie whereof is very well knowne: but to use it, and according to nature to prevaile with it, is as hard as it is easie, to endeare it and to prevaile with it according to custome, to lawes and precepts. The first and universall reasons are of a hard perscrutation. And our Masters passe them over in gleaning, or in not daring so much as to taste them, at first sight cast themselves headlong into the libertie or sanctuarie of custome. Those that will not suffer themselves to be drawne out of his originall source, do also commit a greater error, and submit themselves to savage opinions: witnesse Chrysippus; who in so many severall places of his compositions, inserted the small accompt he made of conjunctions, how incestuous soever they were. Hee that will free himselfe from this violent prejudice of custome, shall find divers things received with an undoubted resolution, that have no other anker but the hoarie head and frowning wrimples of custome, which ever attends them: which maske being pulled off, and referring all matters to truth and reason, he shall perceive his judge-ment, as it were overturned, and placed in a much surer state. As for example, I wil then aske him, what thing can be more strange than to see a people bound to follow lawes, he never understood? Being in all his domestical affaires, as marriages, donations, testaments, purchases,

The sale and sales, necessarily bound to customary rules, of justice which forsomuch as they were never written nor published in his owne tongue, he cannot understand, and whereof he must of necessity purchase the interpretation and use. Not according to the ingenious opinion of Isocrates, who counselleth his King to make the Trafikes and negotiations of his subjects, free, enfranchized and gaineful, and their debates, controversies, and quarrels burthensome, and charged with great subsidies, and impositions: But according to a prodigious opinion, to make open sale, and trafficke of reason it selfe, and to give lawes a course of merchandize, is very strange. I commend fortune, for that (as our Historians report) it was a Gentleman of Gaskonie, and my Countriman, that first opposed himselfe against Charles the great, at what time he went about to establish the Latine and Imperiall lawes amongst us. What is more barbarous than to see a nation, where by lawful custome the charge of judging is sold, and judgements are paid for with readie money; and where justice is lawfully denied him, that hath not wherewithall to pay for it; and that this merchandize hath so great credit, that in a politicall government there should be set up a fourth estate of Lawyers, breath-sellers, and pettifoggers, and joyned to the three ancient states, to wit, the Clergie, the Nobility, and the Communaltie; which fourth state having the charge of lawes, and sometimes auctoritie of goods and lives, should make a body, apart, and severall from that of Nobilitie, whence double Lawes must

follow; those of honour, and those of justice; Honour in many things very contrarie do those as rigor- and Law ously condemne a lie pocketed up, as these a lie revenged: by the law and right of armes he that putteth up an injurie shall be degraded of honour and nobilitie; and he that revengeth himselfe of it, shall by the civill Law incurre a capitall punishment. Hee that shall addresse himselfe to the Lawes to have reason for some offence done unto his honour, dishonoreth himselfe. And who doth not so, is by the Lawes punished and chastised. And of these so different parts, both neverthelesse having reference to one head; those having peace, these war committed to their charge; those having the gaine, these the honor; those knowledge, these vertue: those reason, these strength: those the word, these action: those justice, these valour: those reason, these force: those a long gowne, and these a short coat, in partage and share. Touching indifferent things, as clothes and garments, whosoever will reduce them to their true end, which is the service and commodity of the bodie, whence dependeth their originall grace and comlines, for the most fantasticall to my humour that may be imagined, amongst others I will give them our square caps; that long hood of plaited velvet, that hangs over our womens heads, with his parti-coloured traile, and that vaine and unprofitable modell of a member, which we may not so much as name with modestie, whereof notwithstanding we make publike shew, and open demonstration. These considerations do never-

The good thelesse never distract a man of understanding and great from following the common guise. Rather Socrates on the contrary, me seemeth, that all severall, strange, and particular fashions proceed rather of follie, or ambitious affectation, than of true reason: and that a wise man ought inwardly to retire his minde from the common presse, and hold the same liberty and power to judge freely of all things, but for outward matters, he ought absolutely to follow the fashions and forme customarily received. Publike societie hath nought to do with our thoughts; but for other things, as our actions, our travel, our fortune, and our life, that must be accommodated and left to it's service and common opinions: as that good and great Socrates, who refused to save his life by disobeying the magistrate, yea a magistrate most wicked and unjust. For that is the rule of rules, and generall law of lawes, for every man to observe those of the place wherein he liveth.

> Νόμοις ἔπεσθαι τοῖσιν ἐγχώροις καλὸν. -Gnom. Græc. vii.

Lawes of the native place, To follow, is a grace.

Loe here some of another kind. There riseth a great doubt, whether any so evident profit may be found in the change of a received law, of what nature soever, as there is hurt in removing the same; forsomuch as a well setled policie may be compared to a frame or building of divers parts joyned together with such a liga-ment as it is impossible to stirre or displace one,

but the whole body must needes be shaken, and Old laws shew a feeling of it. The Thurians Law-giver best instituted, that, whosoever would goe about, either to abolish any one of the old Lawes, or attempt to establish a new, should present himself before the people with a roape about his necke, to the end, that if his invention were not approved of all men, he should presently bee strangled. And he of Lacedamon laboured all his life to get an assured promise of his citizens, that they would never infringe any one of his ordinances. That Ephore or Tribune, who so rudely cut off the two strings, that Phrinis had added unto musicke, respecteth not whether musicke be better or no with them, or whether the accords of it be better filled, he hath sufficient reason to condemne them, because it is an alteration of the old forme. It is that which the old rustie sword of justice of Marseille did signifie. I am distasted with noveltie, what countenance soever it shew: and I have reason so to be, for I have seene very hurtfull effects follow the same. That which so many yeares since doth so presse us, hath not yet exploited all. But some may alleage with apparance, that by accident, it hath produced and engendred all, yea both the mischiefes and ruines, that since are committed without and against it: it is that a man should blame and finde fault with.

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis.
—Ovid. Epist. Phyl. 48.
Alas I suffer smart
Procur'd by mine owne dart.

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suffer first

Those which attempt to shake an Estate, are bodies commonly the first overthrowne by the fall of it: he that is first mover of the same, reapeth not alwayes the fruit of such troubles; he beats and troubleth the water for others to fish in. The contexture and combining of this monarchie, and great building, having bin dismist and disolved by it, namely in her old yeares, giveth as much overture and entrance as a man will to like injuries. Royall Majestie doth more hardly fall from the top to the middle, than it tumbleth downe from the middle to the bottom. But if the inventors are more damageable, the imitators are more vicious, to cast themselves into examples, of which they have both felt and punished the horror and mischiefe. And if there be any degree of honour, even in ill doing, these are indebted to others for the glory of the invention, and courage of the first attempt. All sorts of new licentiousnesse doe haply draw out of this originall and fruitfull source, the images and patterns to trouble our common-wealth. We may reade in our very lawes, made for the remedie of the first evill, the apprentisage and excuse of all sorts of wicked enterprises: And in favour of publike vices, they are named with new and more pleasing words for their excuses, bastardizing and allaying their true titles: yet it is to reforme our consciences and our conceits, Honesta oratio est (TEREN. And. act i. sc. 1). It is an honest speech and well said. But the best pretence of innovation or noveltie is most dangerous: Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est.

nothing moved out of the first place is allowable: The gods Yet me seemeth (if I may speake boldly) that it take care argueth a great selfe-love and presumption, for a man to esteeme his opinions so far, that for to establish them, a man must be faine to subvert a publike peace, and introduce so many inevitable mischiefes, and so horrible a corruption of manners, as civill warres, and alterations of a state bring with them, in matters of such consequence, and to bring them into his owne countrie. not ill husbanded to advance so many certaine and knowne vices, for to combate contested and debatable errors? Is there any worse kinde of vices, than those which shocke a mans owne conscience and naturall knowledge? The Senate durst give this defeate in payment about the controversies betweene it and the people for the mysterie of their religion: Ad deos, id magis quam ad se pertinere: ipsos visuros, ne sacra sua polluantur: That that did rather belong to the Gods than to them, and the Gods should looke at it, that their due rites were not polluted. Agreeing with that, which the Oracle answered those of Delphos, in the Median warre, fearing the invasions of the Persians. They demanded of that God what they should doe with the treasures conseciated to his Temple, whether hide,

or cary them away: who answered them, that they should remove nothing, but take care of themselves, for he was able to provide for all things that were fit for him. Christian religion hath all the markes of extreme justice and profit, but none more apparent than the exact com-

of their

Divine mendation of obedience due unto magistrates, wisdom and manutention of policies: what wonderfull example hath divine wisdome left us, which to establish the wel-fare of humane kinde, and to conduct this glorious victorie of hers against death and sinne, would not do it but at the mercy of our politik order, and hath submitted the progresse of it, and the conduct of so high and worthie effect, to the blindnesse and injustice of our observations and customes, suffering the innocent bloud of so many her favored elect to run, and allowing a long losse of yeares for the ripening of this inestimable fruit? There is much difference betweene the cause of him that followeth the formes and lawes of his countrie, and him that undertaketh to governe and change The first alleageth for his excuse, simplicitie, obedience, and example; whatsoever he doth cannot be malice, at the most it is but ill lucke. Quis est enim, quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas? (Cic. Div. i.). For who is he whom antiquitie will not move, being witnessed and signed with former monuments? Besides that which Isocrates saith, that defect hath more part in moderation, than hath excesse. The other is in much worse case. For he that medleth with chusing and changing, usurpeth the authoritie of judging: and must resolve himselfe to see the fault of what he hunteth for, and the good of what he bringeth in. This so vulgar consideration hath confirmed me in my state, and restrained my youth, that was more rash, from burthening my

shoulders with so filthie a burthen, as to make Instabimy selfe respondent of so important a science. lity of And in this to dare, what in sound judgement private I durst not in the easiest of those wherein I judgment had beene instructed, and wherein the rashnes of judging is of no prejudice. Seeming most impious to me, to goe about to submit publike constitutions and unmoveable observances, to the instabilitie of a private fantasie (private reason is but a private jurisdiction) and to undertake that on divine-lawes, which no policie would tolerate in civill law. Wherein although mans reason have much more commerce, yet are they soveraignly judges of their judges: and their extreme sufficiencie serveth to expound custome and extend the use, that of them is received, and not to divert and innovate the same. If at any time divine providence hath gone beyond the rules, to which it hath necessary constrained us, it is not to give us a dispensation from them. They are blowes of her divine hand, which we ought not imitate, but admire: as extraordinarie examples, markes of an expresse and particular avowing of the severall kinds of wonders, which for a testimonie of her omnipotencie it offereth us, beyond our orders and forces, which it is follie and impietie to goe about to represent, and which we ought not follow but contemplate with admiration, and meditate with astonishment. Acts of her personage, and not of ours. Cotta protesteth very opportunely; Quum de religione agitur, T. Coruncanum, P. Scipionem, P. Scavolam, Pontifices maximos, non Zenonem, aut

Evils of Cleanthem, aut Chrysippum, sequor (Cic. De Nat. civil war iii. p.). When we talke of religion, I follow Titus Coruncanus, Publius Scipio, P. Scavola, and the professors of religion, not Zeno, Cleanthes, or

Chrysippus.

May God know it in our present quarell, wherein are a hundred articles, yea, great and deepe articles, to be removed and altered, although many there are, who may boast to have exactly survaid the reasons and foundations of one and other faction. It is a number, if it be a number, that should have no great meane to trouble us. But whither goeth all this other throng? Under what colours doth it quarter it selfe? It followeth of theirs, as of other weake and ill applied medicines, the humors, that it would have purged in us, it hath enflamed, exasperated, and sharpned, by her conflict, and still do remaine in our bodies. It could not by reason of her weaknesse purge us, but hath rather weakned us; so that we cannot now void it, and by her operation we reap nothing but long, continuall, and intestine griefes and aches, yet is it, that fortune, ever reserving her authoritie above our discourses, doth somtimes present us the urgent necessitie, that lawes must needs yeeld her some place: And when a man resisteth the increase of an innovation, brought in by violence, to keepe himselfe each-where and altogether in rule and bridle against those that have the keyes of fields, to whom all things are lawfull, that may in any sort advance their desseigne, that have not law, nor order, but to follow their advantage, it is a dangerous obligation, and prejudiciall Bow beinequalitie.

fore the

Aditum nocendi perfido præstat fides.
—Sen. Oed. act iii. sc. 1

Trust in th' untrustie, may To hurt make open way.

For so much as the ordinarie discipline of an estate, that hath his perfect health, doth not provide for these extraordinarie accidents, it presupposeth a bodie holding it selfe in his principall members and offices, and a common consent to observe and obey it. Lawfull proceeding is a cold, dull, heavie and forced proceeding: and is not like to hold out against a licentious and unbridled proceeding. It is yet as all men know, a reproach to those two great personages, Octavius and Cato, in their civill warres; the one of Scilla, the other of Casar, because they rather suffered their countrie to incur all extremities, than by her lawes to aid her, or to innovate any thing. For truly in these last necessities, where nothing is left to take hold by, it were peradventure better, to shrug the shoulders, stoope the head, and somewhat yeeld to the stroke, than beyond possibilitie to make head and resist, and be nothing the better, and give violence occasion to trample all underfoot: and better were it to force the lawes to desire but what they may, since they may not what they would. So did he that ordained them to sleep foure and twentie houres: And he who for a time removed one day from the Calender:

Two And another who of the moneth of June made a subtle second May. The Lacedemonians themselves, devices so strict observers of their countries ordinances, being urged by their Lawes, which precisely forbad and inhibited to chuse one man twice to be their Admirall, and on the other side their affaires necessarily requiring, that Lysander should once more take that charge upon him, they created one Aracus Admirall, but instituted Lysander superintendent of all maritime causes. And with the same sutteltie, one of their Ambassadors being sent to the Athenians for to obtaine the change of some ordinance, Pericles alleaging, that it was expresly forbid to remove the table, wherein a law had once beene set downe, perswaded him but to turne it, for that was not forbidden. It is that whereof Plutarke commendeth Philopamen, who being borne to command, could not onely command according to the lawes, but the lawes themselves, whensoever publike necessitie required it.

CHAP. XXIII

Divers events from one selfe same counsell

AMES AMIOT, great Almoner of France, did once tell me this storie, to the honour of one of our Princes, (and so he was indeed by very good tokens, albeit by off-spring he were a stranger) that during our first troubles, at the

what I will charge you with, and your countenance doth plainly shew it, you can conceale nothing from me: for I am so well instructed of your businesse, that would you goe about to hide it, you should but marre all, you have perfect knowledge of this and this thing, (which were the chiefest props and devices of the secretest drifts of his complot and conspiracie) faile not therefore as you tender your life, to confesse the truth of all your purpose. When the silly man saw himselfe so surprized and convicted (for the whole matter had beene discovered unto the Queene by one of the complices) he had no other way, but to lift up his

siege of Roane, the said Prince being advertised The by the Queene-mother of a conspiracie and en- Prince terprise, that should be attempted against his life, and the conspiand by letters particularly informed him of the rator partie that should performe it, who was a gentleman of Anjow, or Manse, and who to that purpose did ordinarily frequent the said Princes court; he never imparted that secret or communicated that warning to any man, but the next morrow walking upon Saint Catherins hill, whence our batterie played against the towne (for it was, at what time we laid siege to Roane) with the said Lord great Almoner: and another Bishop by his side, he chanced to descrie the said gentleman, whom the Queene-mother had described unto him, and caused him to be called, who being come before his presence, said thus unto him, perceiving him alreadie to wax pale, and tremble at the alarums of his conscience: Master, such a one, I am fully perswaded you fore-imagine

The hands, and beg for grace and mercie at the Prince's Princes hands, at whose feete he would have prostrated himselfe, but that he would not let him: thus following his discourse; Come bither my friend, said he, Did I ever doe you any displeasure? Have I ever through any particular hatred, wronged or offended any friend of yours? It is not yet three weekes since I knew you, what reason might move you to conspire and enterprise my death? The Gentleman with a faint trembling voyce, and selfe-accusing looke, answered him, that no particular occasion had ever moved him to that, but the interest of the generall cause of his faction, and that some of them had perswaded him, that to root out, and in what manner soever, to make away so great an enemy of their religion, would be an execution full of pietie, and a worke of supererogation. Then said the Prince, I will shew you how much the religion which I professe is more milde, than that whereof you make profession: yours hath perswaded you to kill me, without hearing me, having never been offended by me: and mine, commands me to pardon you, convicted as you are, that you would so treacherously and without cause have killed me. Goe your way, withdraw your selfe, let mee never see you here againe, and if you be wise, hence-forward in your enterprises take honester men for your counsellers, than those of your religion. The Emperour Augustus being in Gaule, received certaine advertisement of a conspiracie, that L. Cinna complotted against him, whereof he purposed to be avenged, and for that

purpose sent to all his friends against the next Augustus morrow for advice and counsell, but passed the hears of fore-going night with great anxietie and unrest, Cinna's considering that following his intent, he should bring a yong Gentleman, well borne, of a noble house, and great Pompeyes nephew, to his death: which perplexitie produced divers strange discourses and consideration in him. What? said he unto himselfe, Shall it ever be reported, that I doe live in feare, and suffer mine enemie to walke at his pleasure and libertie? Shall he then goe free, that hath attempted and resolved to deprive me of my life, which both by sea and land I have saved from so many civill warres, and from so many battels? And now that I have established an universall peace in the world, shall he be absolved and goe unpunished, that hath not only determined to murther, but to sacrifice me? (For, the complot of the conspiracie was to murther him, when he should be at sacrifice.) After that, having taken some rest with himselfe, he with a lowder voice began to exclaime and cry out against himselfe, saying, Why livest thou, if the lives of so many depend on thy death? Shall thy vengeance and cruelties never have an end? Is thy life of that worth, as it may countervaile the sundry mischiefes that are like to ensue, if it be preserved? Livia his wife being in bed with him, perceiving his agonie, and hearing his speeches, said thus unto him: And may not womens counsels be admitted? Doe as Physitians

are wont, who when their ordinarie receipts will not worke, have recourse to the contrarie. Hitherto

between

The in- thou couldest never doe any good with severitie: terview Lepidus hath followed Savidienus, Murena Lepidus, [Scipio] Murena, Egnatius [Scipio]; begin now to prove what good lenitie and clemencie will doe thee. Cinna is convicted, pardon him: To annoy or hurt thee now, he is not able, and thou shalt thereby increase thy glory. Augustus seemed very glad to have found an Advocate of his humour, and having thanked his wife, and countermanded his friends, whom he had summoned to the Counsell, commanded Cinna to be brought before him alone. Then sending all men out of his chamber, and a chaire prepared for Cinna to sit in, he thus bespake him: First Cinna, I require to have gentle audience, and that thou wilt not interrupt my speech, which ended, I will give thee time and leasure to answer me: Thou knowest (oh Cinna) that when I had taken thee prisoner in mine enemies campe, who wast not only become, but borne my foe; I saved thee, then put thee in quiet possession of thy goods, and at last, have so enriched thee, and placed thee in so high a degree, that even the conquerours are become envious over the conquered. The Priests office, which thou beggedst at my hands, I freely bestowed on thee, having first refused the same to others, whose fathers and friends had in many battels shed their bloud for me : After all which benefits, and that I had in dutie tied thee so fast unto me, thou hast notwithstanding undertaken to kill me. To whom Cinna replied, crying alowd, That he had never so much as conceived so wicked a thought, much lesse entertained the same. Oh

Cinna, this is not according to thy promise, an- Augustus swered then Augustus, which was, that thou and Cinna wouldest not interrupt me: What I say, is true, thou hast undertaken to murther me, in such a place, on such a day, in such a company, and in such manner: and seeing him so amazed in beart, and by his evidence strucken dumbe, moved thereunto, not by the condition of his promise, but by the guilt of his selfe-accusing conscience; why wouldest thou doe it, replied he, is it because thou wouldest be Emperour? Truely the commonwealth is but in hard condition, if none but my selfe hinder thee from the Empire. Thou canst not so much as defend thine owne house, and didst but lately lose a processe, only by the favor of a seely libertine. What? hast thou no meane or power in any other matter, but to attempt Cæsars life? I quit it, if there be no man but my selfe to impeach thy hopes. Supposest thou that Paulus, that Fabius, that the Cossenians, or the Servillianes will ever permit thee? And so great a troupe of noble men, noble, not only in name, but such as by their vertues honour their nobilitie, will ever suffer it. After many other such like discourses (for he talked with him more than 2. houres) he said unto him; Away, oh Cinna, that life which once I gave thee, as to an enemie, I now give thee againe, as to a traitour, and a patricide: let a true friendship from this day forward begin betweene us, let us strive together, which of us two with a better faith shall out-goe the other, and whether I have given thy life, or thou hast received the same with great confidence: and so left him.

but vain

Shortly after he gave him the Consulship, blamwisdom ing him that he durst not aske it of him. And ever after held him as his deere friend, and made him alone, heire and executor of his goods. Now after this accident, which hapned to Augustus in the xl. yeare of his age, there was never any conspiracie or enterprise attempted against him; and he received a just reward for his so great clemency. But the like succeeded not to our Prince, for his mildnesse and lenitie could not so warrant him, but that afterward he fell into the snares of the like treason; so vaine and frivolous a thing is humane wisdome: and contrary to all projects, devices, counsels, and precautions, fortune doth ever keepe a full sway and possession of all events. We count those Physitians happy and successeful, that successefully end a desperate cure, or come to a good issue: as if there were no other art but theirs, that could not subsist of it selfe, and whose foundations were too feeble to stand and relie upon her owne strength: and as if there were none but it, that stands in need of fortunes helpe-affoording hand, for the effecting of her operations. My conceit of it, is both the worst and the best a man may imagine: for thankes be to God, there is no commerce betweene us: I am contrary to others; for I ever despise it, and when I am sick, in stead of entring into league or composition with it, I then beginne to hate and feare it most: and answer such as urge mee to take Physicke, that at least they will tarie till such time as I have recovered my

health and strength againe; that then I may the Nature better be enabled to endure the violence and the best hazard of their potions. I let nature worke, doctor and presuppose unto my selfe, that she hath provided her selfe, both of teeth and clawes, to defend her self from such assaults as shall beset her, and to maintaine this contexture or frame, whose dissolution it so much hateth. In liew of bringing helpe unto her, when shee most striveth, and is combated by sicknesse, I greatly feare lest I bring succor unto her adversarie, and surcharge her with new enemies. Now I conclude, that not onely in Physicke, but likewise in sundry more certaine arts, fortune hath great share in them. The Poeticall furies, which ravish and transport their Author beyond himselfe, why shall we not ascribe them to his good fortune, since himselfe confesseth, that they exceed his strength and sufficiencie, and acknowledgeth to proceed from elsewhere, than from himselfe, and that they are not in his power, no more than Orators say to have those strange motions and extraordinary agitations, that in their art transport them beyond their purpose? The like wee see to bee in painting, for sometimes the Painters hand shall draw certaine lines or draughts, so farre exceeding his conception or skill, that himselfe is forced to enter into admiration and amazement. But fortune yet doth much more evidently shew, the share shee hath in all their workes, by the graces and beauties that often are found in them, not onely beyond the intent, but besides the very knowMuch is ledge of the workman. A heedy Reader shall

due to often discover in other mens compositions, perfortune fections farre-differing from the Authors meaning, and such as haply he never dreamed of, and illustrateth them with richer senses, and more excellent constructions. As for military enterprises, no man is so blinde but seeth what share fortune hath in them: even in our counsels and deliberations, some chance or good lucke must needs be joyned to them, for whatsoever our wisdome can effect, is no great matter. The sharper and quicker it is, more weaknesse findes it in it selfe, and so much the more doth it distrust it selfe. I am of Sillaes opinion: and when I nearest consider the most glorious exploits of warre, me thinkes I see, that those who have the conduct of them, employ neither counsell nor deliberation about them, but for fashion-sake, and leave the best part of the enterprise to fortune, and on the confidence they have in her ayd, they still go beyond the limits of all discourse. Casuall rejoycings, and strange furies ensue among their deliberations, which for the most induce them to take the counsell least grounded upon apparance or reason, and which quaile their courage beyond reason; whence it hath succeeded unto divers great Captaines, by giving credit to such rash counsels, and alleaging to their souldiers, that by some divine inspiration, and other signes and prognostications, they were encouraged to sich and such enterprises. Loe here wherefore in this uncertainty and perplexitie, which the impuissances and inabilitie doth bring

us to see and chuse what is most commodious, The right for the difficulties which the divers accidents is ever the and circumstances of everie thing draw with better them: the surest way, if other considerations did not invite us thereto, is, in my conceit, to follow the partie, wherein is most honestie and justice; and since a man doubteth of the nearest way, ever to keepe the right. As in these two examples I have lately mentioned, there is no doubt, but that it was more commendable and generous in him, who had received the offence, to remit and pardon the same, than to have done otherwise. If the first had but ill successe, his good intent is not to be blamed; and no man knoweth, had he taken the contrary way, whether he should have escaped the end, to which his destinie called him; and then had he lost the glorie and commendations of so seld - seene humanitie. Sundry men possessed with this feare, are read-of in ancient Histories; the greatest part of which have followed the way of fore-running the conspiracies, which were complotted against them, by revenge or tortures, but I see very few, that by this remedy have received any good; witnesse so many Romane Emperours. Hee that perceiveth himselfe to bee in this danger, ought not much to relie upon his power, or hope in his vigilancie. For, how hard a matter is it, for a man to warrant and safeguard himselfe from an enemie, that masks under the visage of the most officious and heartieseeming friend we have? And to know the inward thoughts and minde-concealed meanings

of Alex-ander

The of such as daily attend, and are continually with courage us? It will little availe him to have forraine nations to his guard, and ever to be encircled about with troupes of Armed men? whosoever he be that resolveth to con[t]emne his owne life, may at any time become Master of other mens lives.

> Moreover that continuall suspition, which makes the Prince to mistrust every body, should be a wonderfull vexation to his minde. And therefore when Dion was advertised that Calippus watched to kill him, could never finde in his heart to informe himselfe of it: affirming; He had rather die once, than ever live in feare and miserie, and to guard himselfe not onely from his enemies, but from his very friends. Which thing Alexander presented more lively and undantedly by effect, who by a letter of Parmenio having received advertisement, that Philip his neerest and best regarded Physitian, had with money beene suborned and corrupted by Darius, to poison him, who at the very instant that he gave Philip the letter to reade, swallowed downe a potion he had given him: was it not to expresse his resolution, that if his friends would kill him, he would not shun them, but consent to their treachery? This Prince is the Soveraigne patterne of hazardous attempts: yet know I not whether in all his life, he shewed an act of more resolute constancie, than this, nor an ornament so many wayes famous. Those which daily preach and buzze in Princes eares, under colour of their safetie, a heedy diffidence and

ever-warie distrustfulnesse, doe nought but tell No noble them of their ruine, and further their shame and act downefall. No noble act is atchieved without without danger. I know one by his owne complexion of a right martial courage, and ready for any resolution, whose good and hopefull fortune is dayly corrupted by such verball perswasions; as first to keepe close with his friends; never to listen to any reconciliation with his old enemies: to stand upon his owne guard; never to commit himselfe to any stronger than himselfe, what faire promise soever they make him, or whatsoever apparant profit they seeme to containe. I also know another, who because he did ever follow the contrarie counsell, and would never listen to such schoole-reasons, hath beyond all hope raised his fortune above the common reach. That boldnesse wherewith they so greedily gape after glory, is alwayes at hand, when ever need shall be, as gloriously in a doublet as in an armour; in a cabinet as in a campe; the arme held downe, as lifted up. A wisdome so tenderly precise, and so precisely circumspect, is a mortall enemie to haughty executions. Scipio, to sound the depth of Siphax intent, and to discover his minde; leaving his armie, and abandoning the yet unsetled country of Spaine, which under his new conquest of it, was likely to be suspected, he I say, could passe into Affrike onely with two simple ships or small barkes, to commit himselfe in a strange and foe countrie, to engage his person, under the power of a barbarous King, under an unknowne

danger

Fear faith, without either hostage, or letters of creentices dence, yea without any body, but onely upon the assurance of the greatnesse of his courage, of his successefull good fortune, and of the promise of his high-raised hopes. Habita fides ipsam plerumque fidem obligat. Most commonly trusting obligeth trustinesse. To an ambitious and fame-aspiring minde, contrariwise, a man must yeeld little, and cary a hard hand against suspitions: Feare and distrust draw on offences and allure them. The most mistrustfull of our Kings established his affaires, and setled his estate, especially because he had voluntarily given over, abandoned and committed his life and libertie, to the hands and mercy of his enemies: Seeming to put his whole confidence in them, that so they might likewise conceive an undoubted affiance in him. Casar did onely confront his mutinous legions, and oppose his hardlyruled Armies, with the minde-quelling authoritie of his countenance, and awe-moving fiercenesse of his words; and did so much trust himselfe and his fortune, that he no whit feared to abandon and commit himselfe to a seditious and rebellious Armie.

> -stetit aggere fulti Cæspitis, intrepidus vultu, meruitque timeri Nil metuens .- LUCAN. V. 296.

He on a rampart stood of turfe uprear'd, Fearelesse, and fearing none was to be fear'd.

True it is, that this undaunted assurance cannot so fully and lively be represented, but

by those in whom the imagination or appre- Bad hension of death, and of the worst that may effect of happen, can strike no amazement at all: for, humility to represent it fearefully-trembling, doubtfull and uncertaine, for the service of an important reconciliation, is to effect no great matter: It is an excellent motive to gaine the heart and good will of others, for a man to go and submit himselfe to them, provided it be done freely, and without constraint of any necessitie, and in such sort, that a man bring a pure and unspotted confidence with him, and at least his countenance void of all scruple. Being yet a childe, I saw a gentleman, who had the command of a great Citie, and by a commotion of a seditiously furious people greatly put to his plunges, who to suppresse the rising fire of this tumult, resolved to sally out from a strongly assured place, where he was safe, and yeeld himselfe to that many-headed monster mutinous rowt; thrived so ill by it, that he was miserably slaine amongst them: yet deeme I not his oversight to have beene so great in issuing out, his memorie being of most men condemned, as because he tooke a way of submission, and remissenesse, and attempted to extinguish that rage and hurly-burly, rather by way of following, than of guiding, and by requiring sute, than by demonstrative resolution: and I deeme, a gratiously milde severitie, with a militarie commandement, full of confidence and securitie, beseeming his ranke, and the dignitie of his charge, had better availed him, had beene more successefull,

Passions at least with more honour, and well seeming of the comlinesse. There is nothing lesse to bee expected or hoped for at the hands of this monstrous faced multitude, thus agitated by furie, than humanitie and gentlenesse; it will much sooner receive reverence, and admit feare. I might also blame him, that having undertaken a resolution (in my judgement, rather brave than rash) to cast himselfe inconsiderately, weake and unarmed, amidst a tempestuous Ocean of senselesse and mad men, he should have gone through stitch with it, and not leave the person he represented in the briers, whereas after he had perceived the danger at hand, he chanced to bleed at the nose; and then to change that demisse and flattering countenance he had undertaken, into a dismaid and drooping looke, filling both voice and eyes with astonishment and repentance: and seeking to squat himselfe, hee the more enflamed, and called them upon him. It was determined, there should be a generall muster made of divers troupes of armed men (a place fittest for secret revenges, and where they may safest be atchieved) there were most apparant reasons, that the place was very unsure, or at least, to be suspected, by such as were to have the principall and necessary charge to survey them. Divers counsels were proposed, sundry opinions heard, as in a subject of great difficultie, and on which depended so many weightie consequences. My advice was, they should carefully avoid to give any testimonie of suspition, or shew of doubt,

and that our troupes should be as full as might Resolube, and the Fyles orderly ranked, and every tion of Souldier shew an undaunted carriage, and un- Julius dismayed countenance, and in stead of keeping some of our forces backe (which thing most opinions aimed at) all Captaines should be put in minde to admonish their Souldiers to make their sallies as orderly and as strong as might be, in honour of the assistance; and spare no powder, which would serve as a gratification toward these suspectfull troupes, which afterward caused a mutuall and profitable confidence. I finde the course that Julius Casar held to be the best a man may take: First he assayed by clemencie to purchase the love of his very enemies, contenting himselfe in the conspiracies that were discovered unto him, simply to shew they were not unknowen to him, but had perfect notice of them. That done, he tooke a most noble resolution, which was, without dread or dismay, or any care-taking, to attend whatsoever might betide him, wholy abandoning and remitting himselfe into the hands of the Gods and of fortune. For certainely, it is the state wherein he was, when he was murthered in the Senate. A stranger having published every where, that he could teach Dionysius the tyrant of Siracusa a way to understand and discover the very certaintie of all the practices, his subjects or any else should practise against him, if he would bestow a good summe of money upon him: Dionysius being therof advertised, sent for him, to discover the secret and understand

The pur- the truth of so necessarie an art for his prechase of servation: the stranger told him, there was no Dionysius other skill in his art, but that he should deliver him a talent, and then boast hee had learned the use of so unvaluable a secret of him. Dionysius allowed of his invention, and forthwith caused six hundred crownes to be delivered him. It is not likely that ever he would have given so great a summe of mony to an unknowne man, but in reward of a most profitable instruction; for by way of this reputation he kept his enemies still in awe. And therefore doe Princes wisely publish such advertisements as they receive of the plots conspired, and treasons practised against their lives and states, thereby to make men beleeve, that nothing can be attempted against them, but they shall have knowledge of it. The Duke of Athens committed many fond oversights in the establishing of his late tyrannie upon the Florentines, but this the chiefest, that having received the first advertisement of the Monopolies and Complots the Florentines contrived against him, by Mathew, surnamed Morozo, one of the complices, thinking to suppresse this warning, and conceale that any in the Citie were offended at him, or grudged at his rule, caused him immediately to be put to death. I remember to have heretofore read the storie of a Romane (a man of speciall dignitie) who flying the tyrannie of the Triumvirate, had many times by the sutteltie of his invention, escaped those who pursued him. It fortuned upon a day,

that a troupe of horse-men, who had the Patiently charge to apprehend him, passing alongst a endure all hedge, under which he lay lurking, had well-things nigh discovered him; which he perceiving, and considering the dangers and difficulties he had so long endured, thinking to save himselfe from the continuall and daily searches that every where were made after him, and calling to minde the small pleasure he might hope of such a life, and how much better it were for him to die once, than live in such continuall feare and agonie, himselfe called them, and voluntarily discovered his lurking hole, and that he might rid them and himselfe from further pursuit and care, did willingly yeeld unto their crueltie. For a man to call his enemies to aid him, is a counsell somewhat rash, yet thinke I, it were better to embrace it, than remaine still in the continuall fit of such a fever that hath no remedie. But since the provisions of man may apply unto it, are full of unquietnesse and uncertaintie, much better is it with a full assurance to prepare himselfe patiently to endure whatsoever may happen, and draw some comfort from that, which a man is never sure shall come to

passe.

CHAP. XXIV

Of Pedantisme

Pedants held in illfavour I HAVE in my youth oftentimes beene vexed, to see a Pedant brought in, in most of Italian comedies, for a vice or sportmaker, and the nicke-name of Magister to be of no better signification amongst us. For, my selfe being committed to their tuition, how could I chuse but be somewhat jealous of their reputation? In deed I sought to excuse them by reason of the naturall disproportion that is betweene the vulgar sort, and rare and excellent men, both in judgement and knowledge: forsomuch as they take a cleane contrarie course one from another. But when I considered, the choysest men were they, that most contemned them, I was far to seeke, and as it were lost my selfe, witnesse our good Bellay:

Mais je hay par sur tout un scavoir pedantesque.

—Bellay.

A pedant knowledge, I Detest out of all cry.

Yet is this custome very ancient; for Plutarch saith, that Greeke and Scholer, were amongst the Romans, words of reproach and imputation. And comming afterwards to yeares of more discretion, I have found they had great reason, and that magis magnos clericos, non sunt magis

magnos sapientes: The most great Clerkes are Overnot the most wisest men. But whence it may study proceed, that a minde rich in knowledge, and clogs the of so many things, becommeth thereby never livelier nor more quicke-sighted; and a groseheaded and vulgar spirit may without amendment containe the discourse and judgement of the most excellent wits the world ever produced, I still remaine doubtfull. To receive so many, so strange, yea and so great wits, it must needs follow (said once a Lady unto me, yea one of our chiefest Princesses, speaking of some body) that a mans owne wit, force, droope, and as it were diminish it selfe, to make roome for others. I might say, that as plants are choked by overmuch moisture, and lamps dammed with too much oyle, so are the actions of the mind over-whelmed by over-abundance of matter and studie: which occupied and intangled with so great a diversitie of things, loseth the meane to spread and cleare it selfe; and that surcharge keepeth it low-drooping and faint. But it is otherwise, for our mind stretcheth the more by how much more it is replenished. And in examples of former times, the contrary is seene, of sufficient men in the managing of publike affaires, of great Captaines, and notable Counsellers in matters of estate, to have been therewithall excellently wise. And concerning Philosophers, retired from all publike negotiations, they have indeed sometimes been vilified, by the comike libertie of their times, their opinions and demeanors yeelding them ridicusophers

The dis- lous. Will you make them Judges of the dain of right of a processe, or of the actions of a man?

Philosophers

They are readie for it. They enquire whether there be any life yet remaining, whether any motion. Whether man be any thing but an Oxe, what working or suffering is; what strange beasts law and justice are. Speake they of the Magistrate, or speake they unto him; they do it with an unreverent and uncivill libertie. Heare they a Prince or a King commended? Hee is but a shepherd to them, as idle as a Swaine busied about milking of his cattell, or shearing of his sheepe: but yet more rudely. Esteeme you any man the greater for possessing two hundred acres of land? They scoffe at him, as men accustomed to embrace all the world, as their possession. Do you boast of your Nobilitie, because you can blazon your descent of seven or eight rich Grandfathers? They will but little regard you, as men that conceive not the universall image of nature, and how many predecessors every one of us hath had, both rich and poore, Kings and groomes, Greekes and Barbarians. And were you lineally descended in the fiftieth degree from Hercules, they deeme it a vanitie to vaunt or alleage this gift of fortune. So did the vulgar sort disdaine them as ignorant of the first and common things, and as pre-sumptuous and insolent. But this Platonicall lustre is far from that which our men stand in need of. They were envied as being beyond the common sort, as despising publike actions,

as having proposed unto themselves a particular Thework and inimitable life, aiming and directed at cer- of Architaine high discourses, and from the common medes use: these are disdained as men beyond the ordinary fashion, as incapable of publike charges, as leading an unsociable life, and professing base and abject customes, after the vulgar kind. Odi homines ignavos opera, Philosophos sententia (PACUVIUS, Lips. i. 10). I hate men that are fooles in working, and Philosophers in speaking. As for those Philosophers, I say, that as they were great in knowledge, so were they greater in all action. And even as they report of that Syracusan Geometrician, who being taken from his bookish contemplation, to shew some practice of his skill, for the defence of his countrie, reared sodainly certaine terror-moving engines, and shewed effects farre exceeding all mens conceit, himselfe notwithstanding disdaining all this his handie-worke, supposing he had thereby corrupted the dignitie of his art; his engines and manuall works being but the apprentiships, and trials of his skill in sport: So they, if at any time they have been put to the triall of any action, they have been seen to flie so high a pitch, and with so loftie a flight, that men might apparantly see their minds and spirits were through the intelligence of things, become wonderfully rich and great. But some perceiving the seat of politike government possessed by unworthy and incapable men, have withdrawne themselves from it. And hee who demanded

Vanity of of Crates, how long men should Philosophize, royalty received this answer, Untill such time as they who have the conduct of our Armies be no longer blockish asses. Heraclitus resigned the royaltie unto his brother. And to the Ephesians, who reproved him for spending his time in playing with children before the temple: hee answered, And is it not better to doe so, than to governe the publike affaires in your companie? Others having their imagination placed beyond fortune and the world, found the seat of justice, and the thrones of Kings, to be but base and vile. And Empedocles refused the royaltie, which the Agrigentines offered him. Thales sometimes accusing the carke and care men tooke about good husbandry, and how to grow rich; some replied unto him, that he did as the Fox, because he could not attaine unto it himselfe: which hearing, by way of sport he would needs shew by experience how he could at his pleasure become both thriftie and rich; and bending his wits to gaine and profit, erected a traffike, which within one yeare brought him such riches, as the skilfullest in the trade of thriving, could hardly in all their life devise how to get the like. That which Aristotle reporteth of some, who called both him, and Anaxagoras, and such like men, wise, and not prudent, because they cared not for things more profitable: besides, I doe not verie well digest this nice difference of words, that serveth my find-fault

people for no excuse: and to see the base and needie fortune, wherewith they are content, we

might rather have just cause to pronounce them, Vanity of neither wise nor prudent. I quit this first reason, learning and thinke it better to say, that this evill proceedeth from the bad course they take to follow sciences; and that respecting the manner we are instructed in them, it is no wonder if neither Schollers nor Masters, howbeit they prove more learned, become no whit more sufficient. Verily the daily care, and continuall charges of our fathers, aymeth at nothing so much, as to store our heads with knowledge and learning; as for judgement and vertue, that is never spoken of. If a man passe by, crie out to our people; Oh what a wise man goeth yonder! And of another: Oh what a good man is yonder! He will not faile to cast his eyes and respect toward the former. A third crier were needfull, to say, Oh what blocke-heads are those! We are ever readie to aske, Hath he any skill in the Greeke and Latine tongue? can he write well? doth hee write in prose or verse? But whether hee be growne better or wiser, which should be the chiefest of his drift, that is never spoken of, we should rather enquire who is better wise, than who is more wise. We labour, and toyle, and plod to fill the memorie, and leave both understanding and conscience emptie. Even as birds flutter and skip from field to field to pecke up corne, or any graine, and without tasting the same, carrie it in their bils, therewith to feed their little ones; so doe our pedants gleane and picke learning from bookes, and never lodge it further than their lips, only to degorge and cast it to the

Mon- wind. It is strange how fitly sottishnesse takes taigne's hold of mine example. Is not that which I quotadoe in the greatest part of this composition, all
tions one and selfe same thing? I am ever heere and there picking and culling, from this and that booke, the sentences that please me, not to keepe them (for I have no store-house to reserve them in) but to transport them into this: where, to say truth, they are no more mine, than in their first place: we are (in mine opinion) never wise, but by present learning, not by that which is past, and as little by that which is to come. But which is worse, their Schollers, and their little ones are never a whit the more fed or better nourished: but passeth from hand to hand, to this end only, thereby to make a glorious shew, therewith to entertaine others, and with it's helpe to frame some quaint stories, or prettie tales, as of a light and counterfeit coyne, unprofitable for any use or imployment, but to reckon and cast accompts. Apud alios loqui didicerunt, non ipsi secum. Non est loquendum, sed gubernandum (SEN. Epist. cviii.). They have learned to speake with others, not with themselves: speaking is not so requisite as government. Nature, to shew that nothing is savage in whatsoever she produceth, causeth oftentimes, even in rudest and most unarted nations, productions of spirits to arise, that confront and wrestle with the most artist productions. As concerning my discourse, is not the Gaskonie proverbe, drawne from a bag-pipe, prettie and quaint? Bouha prou bouha, mas à remuda lous dits quem. You may blow long enough,

but if once you stirre your fingers, you may go seeke. Vicarious Wee can talke and prate, Cicero saith thus, learning These are Platoes customes, These are the verie words of Aristotle; but what say we our selves? what doe we? what judge we? A Peroquet would say as much. This fashion puts me in mind of that rich Romane, who to his exceeding great charge had beene verie industrious to finde out the most sufficient men in all sciences, which he continually kept about him, that if at any time occasion should bee moved amongst his friends to speake of any matter pertaining to Schollership, they might supplie his place, and be readie to assist him: some with discourse, some with a verse of Homer, othersome with a sentence, each one according to his skill or profession; who perswaded himselfe that all such learning was his owne, because it was contained in his servants minds. As they doe whose sufficiencie is placed in their sumptuous libraries. I know some, whom if I aske what he knoweth, hee will require a booke to demonstrate the same, and durst not dare to tell me that his posteriors are scabious, except he turne over his Lexicon to see what posteriors and scabious is, wee take the opinions and knowledge of others into our protection, and that is all: I tell you they must be enfeoffed in us, and made our owne. Wee may verie well be compared unto him, who having need of fire, should goe fetch some at his neighbours chimney, where finding a good fire, should there stay to warme himselfe, forgetting to carrie some home, what availes it us

Never to have our bellies full of meat, if it be not wise save digested? If it bee not transchanged in us? by our except it nourish, augment, and strengthen us? own wis-dom May we imagine that Lucullus, whom learning made and framed so great a Captaine without experience, would have taken it after our manner? We relie so much upon other mens armes, that we disanull our owne strength. Will I arme my selfe against the feare of death? it is at Senecaes cost: will I draw comfort either for my selfe, or any other? I borrow the same of Cicero. I would have taken-it in my selfe, had I been exercised unto it: I love not this relative and begd-for sufficiencie. Suppose we may be learned by other mens learning. Sure I am, we can never be wise, but by our owne wisdome.

> Μισῶ σοφιστὴν, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός. -Proverb. Iamb.

That wise man I cannot abide, That for himself cannot provide,

Ex quo Ennius: Nequidquam sapere sapientem, qui ipsi sibi prodesse non quiret (Ennius). Where-upon saith Ennius: That wise man is vainly wise, who could not profit himselfe.

> -si cupidus, si Vanus, et Euganea quantumvis vilior agna. -JUVENAL. Sat. viii. 14.

If covetous, if vaine (not wise) Than any lambe more base, more nice.

Non enim paranda nobis solum, sed fruenda sapientia est (Cic. Finib. i. p.). For, wee must

not only purchase wisdome, but enjoy and employ the Savoir same. Dionysius scoffeth at those Gramarians, vivre and who ploddingly labour to know the miseries of pedantry Ulysses, and are ignorant of their owne; mocketh those Musitians, that so attentively tune their instruments, and never accord their manners; derideth those Orators, that studie to speake of justice, and never put it in execution. Except our mind be the better, unlesse our judgement be the sounder, I had rather my scholler had imployed his time in playing at Tennis; I am sure his bodie would be the nimbler. See but one of these our universitie men or bookish schollers returne from schole, after he hath there spent ten or twelve yeares under a Pedants charge: who is so unapt for any matter? who so unfit for any companie? who so to seeke if he come into the world? all the advantage you discover in him, is, that his Latine and Greeke have made him more sottish, more stupid, and more presumptuous, then before he went from home. Whereas he should returne with a mind fullfraught, he returnes with a wind-puft conceit: in stead of plum-feeding the same, he hath only spunged it up with vanitie. These Masters, as Plato speaketh of Sophisters (their cosin Germanes) of all men, are those that promise to be most profitable unto men, and alone, amongst all, that not only amend not what is committed to their charge, as doth a carpenter or a mason, but empaire and destroy the same, and yet they must full dearely be paied. If the law which Protagoras proposed to his disciples, were followed,

Letter- which was, that either they should pay him stricken according to his word, or sweare in the temple, men how much they esteemed the profit they had received by his discipline, and accordingly satisfie him for his paines, my Pedagogues would be aground, especially if they would stand to the oath of my experience. My vulgar Perigordinspeech doth verie pleasantly terme such selfeconceited wisards, Letter-ferits, as if they would say letter-strucken men, to whom (as the common saying is) letters have given a blow with a mallet. Verily for the most part they seeme to be distracted even from common sense. Note but the plaine husbandman, or the unwilie shoomaker, and you see them simply and naturally plod on their course, speaking only of what they know, and no further; whereas these letter-puft pedants, because they would faine raise themselves aloft, and with their literall doctrine which floteth up and downe the superficies of their braine, arme themselves beyond other men, they uncessantly intricate and entangle themselves: they utter loftie words, and speake golden sentences, but so that another man doth place, fit, and applie them. They are acquainted with Galen, but know not the disease. They will stuffe your head with lawes, when God wot they have not yet conceived the ground of the case. They know the Theorike of all things, but you must seeke who shall put it in practice. I have seene a friend of mine, in mine owne house, who by way of sport talking with one of these pedanticall gulls, counterfeited a kind of fustian tongue,

and spake a certain gibrish, without rime or Character reason, sans head or foot, a hotch-pot of divers of pedthings, but that he did often enterlace it with ants inke-pot termes, incident to their disputations, to ammuse the bookish sot for a whole day long with debating and contending; ever thinking he answered the Objections made unto him; yet was he a man of letters and reputation, a graduate, and wore a goodly formall long gowne.

Vos ô patritius sanguis quos vivere par est Occipiti cæco, posticæ occurrite sannæ. -Pers. Sat. i. 61.

You noble blouds, who with a noddle blind, Should live, meet with the mocke that's made behind.

Whosoever shall narrowly looke into this kind of people, which far and wide hath spred it selfe, he shall find (as I have done,) that for the most part, they neither understand themselves, nor others, and that their memorie is many times sufficiently full fraught, but their judgement ever hollow and emptie: except their natural inclination have of it selfe otherwise fashioned them. As I have seene Adrianus Turnebus, who having never professed any thing but studie and letters, wherein he was, in mine opinion, the worthiest man that lived these thousand yeares, and who notwithstanding had no Pedanticall thing about him, but the wearing of his gowne, and some externall fashions, that could not well be reduced, and incivilized to the courtiers cut; things of no consequence. And I naturally hate our people, The wise and scholarly Turnebus

that will more hardly endure a long robe uncuriously worne, than a crosse skittish mind: and that observe what leg, or reverence he makes, note his garbe or demeanor, view his boots, or his hat, and marke what manner of man he is. For his inward parts, I deeme him to have been one of the most unspotted and truly honest minds that ever was. I have sundry times of purpose urged him to speak of matters furthest from his study, wherin he was so cleare-sighted, and could with so quicke an apprehension conceive, and with so sound a judgement distinguish them, that he seemed never to have professed or studied other facultie than warre, and matters of state. Such spirits, such natures may be termed worthy, goodly, and solid.

—queis arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan.
—JUVEN. Sat. xiv. 34.

Whose bowels heavens-bright-Sunne composed Of better mold, art wel disposed.

That maintaine themselves against any bad institution. Now it sufficeth not that our institution marre us not, it must change us to the better. There are some of our Parliaments and Courts, who when they are to admit of any officers, doe only examine them of their learning; others, that by presenting them the judgement of some law cases, endevour to sound their understanding. Me thinks the latter keep the better stile: And albeit these two parts are necessarie, and both ought to concur in one, yet truly should

that of learning be lesse prized than judgement, Learning this may well be without the other, and not the valueless other without this. For as the Greeke verse saith.

understanding

'Ως οὐδὲν ἡ μάθησις, ἢν μὴ νοῦς παρῆ. -Gnom. Græc. χ. et φ. ult. Learning nought worth doth lie, Be not discretion by.

Whereto serveth learning, if understanding be not joyned to it? Oh would to God, that for the good of our justice, the societies of Lawyers were as wel stored with judgement, discretion, and conscience, as they are with learning and wit. Non vita, sed schola discimus (SEN. Epist. cvi. f.). We learne not for our life, but for the schoole. is not enough to joyne learning and knowledge to the minde, it should be incorporated unto it: it must not be sprinckled, but dyed with it; and if it change not and better her estate (which is imperfect) it were much better to leave it. is a dangerous Sword, and which hindreth and offendeth her master, if it be in a weake hand, and which hath not the skill to manage the same: Ut fuerit melius non didicisse: So as it were better that we had not learned. It is peradventure the cause, that neither we, nor divinitie require not much learning in women; and that Francis Duke of Britannie, sonne to John the fifth, when he was spoken unto for a marriage betweene him and Isabel a daughter of Scotland; and some told him she was but meanly brought up, and without any instruction of learning, answered, hee loved her

the only necessary science

Goodness the better for it, and that a woman was wise enough, if she could but make a difference between the shirt and dublet of her husbands. It is also no such wonder (as some say) that our auncesters did never make any great accompt of Letters, and that even at this day (except it be by chaunce) they are not often found in our Kings or Princes chiefest councels and consultations: And if the end to grow rich by them, which now adaies is altogether proposed unto us by the studie of Law, of Phisicke, of Pedantisme, and of Divinitie; did not keep them in credit, without doubt you should see them as beggarly and needy, and as much vilified as ever they were. And what hurt I pray you, since they neither teach us to think well, nor doe well? Postquam docti prodierunt, boni desunt (SEN. Epist. XCV.). Since men became learned, good men failed. Each other science is prejudiciall unto him, that hath not the science of goodnesse. But may not the reason I whilom sought for, also proceed thence? That our studie in France, having as it were no other aime but profit, but those lesse whom nature hath produced to more generous offices, than lucrative, giving themselves unto learning, or so briefely (before they have apprehended any liking of them, retired unto a profession that hath no communitie with bookes) there are then none left, altogether to engage themselves to studie and Bookes, but the meaner kind of people, and such as are borne to base fortune, and who by learning and letters seek some meane to live, and enrich themselves. The minds of which people being

both by naturall inclination, by example, and Man's familiar institution, of the basest stampe, doe work falsly reap the fruit of learning. For it is not in should be her power to give light unto the mind, that hath according to his none, nor to make a blind man to see. The nature mysterie of it is not to affoord him sight, but to direct it for him, to addresse his goings, alwaies provided he have feet of his owne, and good, strait, and capable legs. Knowledge is an excellent drug, but no drug is sufficiently strong to preserve it selfe without alteration or corruption, according to the fault of the vessell, that containes it. Some man hath a cleare sight, that is not right-sighted; and by consequence seeth what good is, and doth not follow it; and [seeth] knowledge, but makes no use of it. The chiefest ordinance of Plato in his common wealth is, to give unto his Citizens their charge, according to their nature. Nature can doe all, and doth all. The crookt backt, or deformed, are unfit for any exercise of the bodie, and crooked and misshapen minds unproper for exercises of the minde. The bastard and vulgar sort are unworthy of Philosophie. When we see a man ill shod, if he chance to be a Shoomaker, wee say it is no wonder, for commonly none goes worse shod than they. Even so it seemes, that experience doth often shew us, a Physitian lesse healthy, a Divine lesse reformed, and most commonly a Wiseman lesse sufficient than another. Aristo Chius had heretofore reason to say, that Philosophers did much hurt to their auditors, forasmuch as the greatest number of minds are not apt

An ideal to profit by such instructions, which, if they take education not a good, they will follow a bad course: άσώτους ex Aristippi, acerbos ex Zenonis schola exire (Cic. Nat. Deor. iii.). They proceed licentious out of the Schoole of Aristippus, but bitter out of the Schoole of Zeno. In that excellent institution which Zenophon giveth the Persians, wee find, that as other Nations teach their children Letters, so they taught theirs vertue. Plato said the eldest borne sonne, in their royall succession, was thus taught. 'As soone as he was borne, 'he was delivered, not to women, but to such 'Eunuchs, as by reason of their vertue were 'in chiefest authoritie about the King. Their 'speciall charge was first to shapen his limmes 'and bodie, goodly and healthy; and at seven 'yeares of age, they instructed and inured him to sit on horsebacke, and to ride a hunting: when he came to the age of fourteene, they de-'livered him into the hands of foure men, that is to say, the wisest, the justest, the most tem-'perate, and the most valiant of all the nation. 'The first taught him religion; the second, to be ever upright and true; the third, to become 'Master of his owne desires; and the fourth, to 'feare nothing.' It is a thing worthy great consideration, that in that excellent, and as I may terme it, matchlesse policie of Lycurgus, and in truth, by reason of her perfection, monstrous, yet notwithstanding, so carefull for the education of children, as of her principall charge, and even in the Muses bosome and resting-place, there is so little mention made of learning: as if that

generous youth disdaining all other yokes but of Training vertue, ought only be furnished, in liew of tutors by quesof learning, with masters of valour, of justice, of tions wisdome, and of temperance. An example which Plato hath imitated in his Lawes. The manner of their discipline was, to propound questions unto them, teaching the judgement of men and of their actions: and if by way of reason or discourse, they condemned or praised, either this man, or that deed, they must be told the truth and best: by which meanes at once they sharpned their wits, and learned the right. Astiages in Zenophon calleth Cyrus to an accompt of his last lesson: It is (saith he) that a great lad in our Schoole, having a little coat, gave it to one of his fellowes, that was of lesser stature than himselfe, and tooke his coat from him, which was too big for him: our Master having made me judge of that difference, I judged that things must be left in the state they were in, and that both seemed to be better fitted as they were; whereupon he shewed me, I had done ill; because I had [not] only considered the comelinesse where I should chiefly have respected justice, which required, that none should be forced in any thing which properly belonged to him, and said, he was whipt for it, as we are in our countrie-townes, when we have forgotten the first preterperfect tense or Aoriste of τύπτω. My Regent might long enough make me a prolixe and cunning Oration in genere demonstrativo, in the oratorie kind of praise or dispraise, before ever hee should perswade me his Schoole is

Greek worth that. They have gone about to make the ideals of way shorter: and since Sciences (even when education they are right taken) can teach us nothing but wisdome, honestie, integritie, and resolution; they have at first sight, attempted to put their children to the proper of effects, and instruct them, not by heare-say, but by assay of action, lively modelling and framing them, not only by precepts and words, but principally by examples and works, that it might not be a Science in their mind, but rather his complexion and habitude; not to purchase, but a naturall inheritance.

To this purpose when Agesilaus was demanded, what his opinion was, children should learne. answered, What they should doe being men. no marvell, if such an institution have produced so admirable effects. Some say, that in other Cities of Greece they went to seeke for Rhetoricians, for Painters, and for Musicians; whereas in Lacedemon, they sought for Law-givers, for Magistrates, and Generals of armies: In Athens men learn'd to say well, but here, to doe well: there to resolve a sophisticall argument, and to confound the imposture and amphibologie of words, captiously enterlaced together; here to shake off the allurements of voluptuousnesse, and with an undanted courage to contemne the threats of fortune, and reject the menaces of death: those busied and laboured themselves about idle words, these after martiall things: there the tongue was ever in continuall exercise of speaking, here the minde in an uncessant practice of well-doing. And therfore was it

not strange, if Antipater requiring fiftie of their How to children for hostages, they answered cleane con- obey and trarie to that we would doe, that they would how to rather deliver him twice so many men; so much did they value and esteeme the losse of their countries education. When Agesilaus inviteth Xenophon to send his children to Sparta, there to be brought up; it is not, because they should learne Rhetorike, or Logike, but, as himselfe saith, to the end they may learne the worthiest and best science that may bee, to wit, the knowledge how to obey, and the skill how to command. It is a sport to see Socrates, after his blunt manner, to mocke Hippias, who reporteth unto him, what great summes of money he had gained, especially in certaine little Cities, and small townes of Sicily, by keeping schoole, and teaching letters, and that at Sparta he could not get a shilling. That they were but Idiots and foolish people, who can neither measure nor esteeme; nor make no accompt of Grammer, or of Rythmes; and who only ammuse themselves to know the succession of Kings, the establishing and declination of estates, and such like trash of flim-flam tales. Which done, Socrates forcing him particularly to allow the excellencie of their forme of publike government, the happinesse and vertue of their private life, remits unto him to guesse the conclusion of the unprofitablenesse of his arts. Examples teach us both in this martiall policie, and in all such like, that the studie of sciences doth more weaken and effeminate mens minds, than corroborate and adapt them to warre. The

Rome mightiest, yea the best setled estate, that is now most in the world, is that of the Turkes, a nation valiant equally instructed to the esteeme of armes, and least disesteeme of letters. I find Rome to have learned beene most valiant, when it was least learned. The most warlike nations of our daies, are the rudest and most ignorant. The Scithians, the Parthians, and Tamburlane, serve to verifie my saying. When the Gothes over-ran and ravaged Greece: that which saved all their Libraries from the fire, was, that one among them, scattered this opinion, that such trash of bookes and papers must be left untoucht and whole for their enemies, as the only meane, and proper instrument to divert them from all militarie exercises, and ammuse them to idle, secure, and sedentarie occupations. When our King Charles the eight, in a manner without unsheathing his sword, saw himselfe absolute Lord of the whole Kingdome of Naples, and of a great part of Thuscanie, the Princes and Lords of his traine ascribed this sodaine, and unhoped for victorie, and facilitie of so noble and prodigious a conquest, only to this, that most of the Princes and nobilitie of Italie ammused themselves rather to become ingenious and wise by learning, than vigorous and warriers by militarie exercises.

CHAP. XXV

Of the institution and education of Children; to the Ladie Diana of Foix, Countesse of Gurson

I NEVER knew father, how crooked and Mondeformed soever his sonne were, that would taigne's either altogether cast him off, or not acknowledge him for his owne: and yet (unlesse he be meerely besotted or blinded in his affection) it may not be said, but he plainly perceiveth his defects, and hath a feeling of his imperfections. But so it is, he is his owne. So is it in my selfe. I see better than any man else, that what I have set downe, is nought but the fond imaginations of him, who in his youth hath tasted nothing but the paring, and seen but the superficies of true learning: whereof he hath retained but a generall and shapelesse forme: a smacke of every thing in generall, but nothing to the purpose in particular: After the French manner. To be short, I know there is an art of Phisicke; a course of lawes; foure parts of the Mathematikes; and I am not altogether ignorant, what they tend unto. And perhaps I also know the scope and drift of Sciences in generall, to be for the service of our life. But to wade further, or that ever I tired my selfe with plodding upon Aristotle (the Monarch of our moderne doctrine) or obstinately continued in the search of any one science: I confesse I never did it. Nor is there any one art, whereof I am able so much as to

learning

delights Seneca

Mon- draw the first lineaments. And there is no taigne scholler (be he of the lowest forme) that may not repute himselfe wiser than I, who am not able to appose him in his first lesson: and if I be forced to it, I am constrained verie impertinently to draw in matter from some generall discourse, whereby I examine, and give a guesse at his naturall judgement: a lesson as much unknowne to them, as theirs is to me. I have not dealt or had commerce with any excellent booke, except Plutarke or Seneca, from whom (as the Danaides) I draw my water, uncessantly filling, and as fast emptying: some thing whereof I fasten to this paper, but to my selfe nothing at all. And touching bookes: Historie is my chiefe studie, Poesie my only delight, to which I am particularly affected: for as Cleanthes said, that as the voice being forciblie pent in the narrow gullet of a trumpet, at last issueth forth more strong and shriller, so me seemes, that a sentence cunningly and closely couched in measure-keeping Posie, darts it selfe forth more furiously, and wounds me even to the quicke. And concerning the naturall faculties that are in me, (whereof behold here an essay) I perceive them to faint under their owne burthen; my conceits, and my judgement march but uncertaine, and as it were groping, staggering, and stumbling at every rush: And when I have gone as far as I can, I have no whit pleased my selfe: for the further I saile, the more land I descrie, and that so dimmed with fogges, and over-cast with clouds, that my sight is so

weakned, I cannot distinguish the same. And The wise then undertaking to speake indifferently of all men of that presents it selfe unto my fantasie, and having old nothing but mine owne naturall meanes to imploy therein, if it be my hap (as commonly it is) among good Authors, to light upon those verie places which I have undertaken to treat off, as even now I did in Plutarke, reading his discourse of the power of imagination, wherein in regard of those wise men, I acknowledge my selfe so weake, and so poore, so dull and grose-headed, as I am forced both to pittie and disdaine my selfe, yet am I pleased with this, that my opinions have often the grace to jump with theirs, and that I follow them a loofe-off, and thereby possesse at least, that which all other men have not; which is, that I know the utmost difference betweene them and my selfe: all which notwithstanding I suffer my inventions to run abroad, as weake and faint, as I have produced them, without bungling and botching the faults, which this comparison hath discovered to me in them. A man had need have a strong backe, to undertake to march foot to foot with these kind of men. The indiscreet writers of our age, amidst their triviall compositions, intermingle and wrest in whole sentences taken from ancient Authors, supposing by such filching-theft to purchase honour and reputation to themselves, doe cleane contrarie. For, this infinite varietie and dissemblance of lustres, makes a face so wan, so il-favored, and so uglie, in respect of theirs, that they lose much more than gaine thereby.

VOL. I.

tions long

Ouota- These were two contrarie humours: The Philosopher Chrisippus was wont to foist-in amongst and short his bookes, not only whole sentences, and other long-long discourses, but whole bookes of other Authors, as in one, he brought in Euripides his Medea. And Apollodorus was wont to say of him, that if one should draw from out his bookes, what he had stolne from others, his paper would remaine blanke. Where as Epicurus cleane contrarie to him in three hundred volumes, he left behind him, had not made use of one allegation. It was my fortune not long since to light upon such a place: I had languishingly traced after some French words, so naked and shallow, and so void either of sence or matter, that at last I found them to be nought but meere French words; and after a tedious and wearisome travell, I chanced to stumble upon an high, rich, and even to the clouds-raised piece, the descent whereof had it been somewhat more pleasant or easie, or the ascent reaching a little further, it had been excusable, and to be borne-withall; but it was such a steepie downe-fall, and by meere strength hewen out of the maine rocke, that by reading of the first six words, me thought I was carried into another world: whereby I perceive the bottome whence I came to be so low and deep, as I durst never more adventure to go through it; for, if I did stuffe any one of my discourses with those rich spoiles, it would manifestly cause the sottishnesse of others to appeare. To reprove mine owne faults in others, seemes to me no more unsufferable, than to re-

prehend (as I doe often) those of others in my Monselfe. They ought to be accused every where, taigne and have all places of Sanctuarie taken from and the them: yet do I know how over-boldly, at all writers times I adventure to equall my selfe unto my filchings, and to march hand in hand with them; not without a fond-hardie hope, that I may perhaps be able to bleare the eyes of the Judges from discerning them. But it is as much for the benefit of my application, as for the good of mine invention and force. And I doe not furiously front, and bodie to bodie wrestle with those old champions: it is but by sleights, advantages, and false-offers I seek to come within them, and if I can, to give them a fall. I doe not rashly take them about the necke, I doe but touch them, nor doe I go so far as by my bargaine I would seeme to doe; could I but keepe even with them, I should then be an honest man; for I seeke not to venture on them, but where they are strongest. To doe as I have seen some, that is, to shroud themselves under others armes, not daring so much as to show their fingers ends unarmed, and to botch up all their works (as it is an easie matter in a common subject, namely for the wiser sort) with ancient inventions, here and there hudled-up together. And in those who endevoured to hide what they have filched from others, and make it their owne, it is first a manifest note of injustice, than a plaine argument of cowardlinesse; who having nothing of any worth in themselves to make show of, will yet under the countenance of others

Mon- sufficiencie goe about to make a faire offer: taigne's Moreover (oh great foolishnesse) to seek by aim to such cosening tricks to forestall the ignorant forth approbation of the common sort, nothing fearing himself to discover their ignorance to men of understanding (whose praise only is of value) who will soone trace out such borrowed ware. As for me, there is nothing I will doe lesse. I never spake of others, but that I may the more speake of my selfe. This concerneth not those minglemangles of many kinds of stuffe, or as the Grecians call them Rapsodies, that for such are published, of which kind I have (since I came to yeares of discretion) seen divers most ingenious and wittie; amongst others, one under the name of Capilupus; besides many of the ancient stampe. These are wits of such excellence, as both here and elsewhere they will soone be perceived, as our late famous writer Lipsius, in his learned and laborious work of the Politikes: yet whatsoever come of it, for so much as they are but follies, my intent is not to smother them, no more than a bald and hoarie picture of mine, where a Painter hath drawne not a perfect visage, but mine owne. For, howsoever, these are but my humors and opinions, and I deliver them but to show what my conceit is, and not what ought to be beleeved. Wherin I ayme at nothing but to display my selfe, who peradventure (if a new prentiship change me) shall be another to morrow. I have no authoritie to purchase beliefe, neither do I desire it; knowing well that I am not sufficiently taught to instruct

others. Some having read my precedent Chapter, The told me not long since in mine owne house, I greatest should somewhat more have extended my selfe is the in the discourse concerning the institution of children. Now (Madam) if there were any children sufficiencie in me, touching that subject, I could not better employ the same, than to bestow it as a present upon that little lad, which ere long threatneth to make a happie issue from out your honorable wombe: for (Madame) you are too generous to begin with other than a man childe. And having had so great a part in the conduct of your successefull marriage, I may challenge some right and interest in the greatnesse and prosperitie of all that shall proceed from it: moreover, the ancient and rightfull possession, which you from time to time have ever had, and still have over my service, urgeth me with more than ordinarie respects, to wish all honour, wellfare and advantage to whatsoever may in any sort concerne you and yours. And truly, my meaning is, but to shew, that the greatest difficultie, and importing all humane knowledge, seemeth to be in this point, where the nurture and institution of young children is in question. For, as in matters of husbandrie, the labor that must be used before sowing, setting, and planting, yea in planting it selfe, is most certaine and easie. But when that which was sowen, set and planted, commeth to take life; before it come to ripenesse, much adoe, and great varietie of proceeding belongeth to it. So in men, it is no great matter to get them, but being borne, what con-

so many hopes

False- tinuall cares, what diligent attendance, what hood of doubts and feares, doe daily wait on their parents and tutors, before they can be nurtured and brought to any good? The fore-shew of their inclination whilest they are young is so uncertaine, their humours so variable, their promises so changing, their hopes so false, and their proceedings so doubtful, that it is very hard, (year for the wisest) to ground any certaine judgement, or assured successe upon them. Behold Cymon, view Themistocles, and a thousand others, how they have differed, and fallen to better from themselves, and deceive the expectation of such as knew them. The young whelps both of Dogges and Beares, at first sight shew their naturall disposition, but men headlong imbracing this custome or fashion, following that humor or opinion, admitting this or that passion, allowing of that or this law, are easily changed, and soone disguised; yet is it hard to force the naturall propension or readinesse of the mind, whereby it followeth, that for want of heedie fore-sight in those that could not guide their course well, they often employ much time in vaine, to addresse young children in those matters, whereunto they are not naturally addicted. All which difficulties notwithstanding, mine opinion is, to bring them up in the best and profitablest studies, and that a man should slightly passe over those fond presages, and deceiving prognostikes, which we over precisely gather in their infancie. And (without offence be it said) me thinks, that Plate in his commonwealth alloweth them too-too much authoritie.

Madame, Learning joyned with true know- Tasso or ledge is an especiall and gracefull ornament, Philoand an implement of wonderfull use and conse- sophy quence, namely in persons raised to that degree of fortune, wherein you are. And in good truth, learning hath not her owne true forme, nor can she make shew of her beauteous lineaments, if she fall into the hands of base and vile persons. For, as famous Torquato Tasso saith; 'Philosophie being a rich and noble 'Queene, and knowing her owne worth, gra-'ciously smileth upon, and lovingly embraceth Princes and noble men, if they become suters to her, admitting them as her minions, and 'gently affoording them all the favours she can; whereas upon the contrarie, if she be wooed, 'and sued unto by clownes, mechanicall fellowes, and such base kind of people, she holds her 'selfe disparaged and disgraced, as holding no proportion with them. And therfore see we by experience, that if a true Gentleman, or 'nobleman follow her with any attention, and 'wooed her with importunitie, he shall learne and know more of her, and prove a better 'scholler in one yeare, than an ungentle or base fellow shall in seven, though he pur-'sue her never so attentively.'] She is much more readie and fierce to lend her furtherance and direction in the conduct of a warre, to attempt honorable actions, to command a people, to treat a peace with a prince of forraine nation, than she is to forme an argument in Logick, to devise a Syllogisme, to

Choice of canvase a case at the barre, or to prescribe tutor a receit of pills. So (noble Ladie) forsomuch as I cannot perswade my selfe, that you will either forget or neglect this point, concerning the institution of yours, especially having tasted the sweetnesse thereof, and being descended of so noble and learned a race. For we yet possesse the learned compositions of the ancient and noble Earles of Foix, from out whose heroicke loynes your husband and you take your of-spring. And Francis Lord of Can-dale your worthie uncle, doth daily bring forth such fruits thereof, as the knowledge of the matchlesse qualitie of your house shall here-after extend it selfe to many ages; I will therefore make you acquainted with one conceit of mine, which contrarie to the common use I hold, and that is all I am able to affoord you, concerning that matter. The charge of the Tutor, which you shall appoint your sonne, in the choice of whom consisteth the whole substance of his education and bringing-up; on which are many branches depending, which (forasmuch as I can adde nothing of any moment to it) I will not touch at all. And for that point, wherein I presume to advise him, he may so far forth give credit unto it, as he shall see just cause. To a gentleman borne of noble parentage, and heire of a house, that aymeth at true learning, and in it would be disciplined, not so much for gaine or commoditie to himselfe (because so abject an end is far unworthie the grace and favour of the

Muses, and besides, hath a regard or de-Judgment pendencie of others) nor for externall shew preferred and ornament, but to adorne and enrich his learning rather to shape and institute an able and sufficient man, than a bare learned man. My desire is therefore, that the parents or overseers of such a gen-tleman be very circumspect, and carefull in chusing his director, whom I would rather commend for having a well composed and temperate braine, than a full stuft head, yet both will doe well. And I would rather prefer wisdome, judgement, civill customes, and modest behaviour, than bare and meere literall learning; and that in his charge he hold a new course. Some never cease brawling in their schollers eares (as if they were still pouring in a tonell) to follow their booke, yet is their charge nothing else, but to repeat, what hath beene told them before. I would have a tutor to correct this part, and that at first entrance, according to the capacitie of the wit he hath in hand, he should begin to make shew of it, making him to have a smacke of all things, and how to chuse and distinguish them, without helpe of others, sometimes opening him the way, other times leaving him to open it by himselfe. I would not have him to invent and speake alone, but suffer his disciple to speake when his turne commeth. Socrates, and after him Arcesilaus, made their schollers to speak first, and then would speake them-selves. Obest plerumque iis qui discere vosolutely needful

Sense of lunt, auctoritas eorum qui docent (Cic. De Nat. propor- i.). Most commonly the authoritie of them that tion ab- teach, hinders them that would learne.

It is therefore meet, that he make him first trot-on before him, whereby he may the better judge of his pace, and so guesse how long he will hold out, that accordingly he may fit his strength: for want of which proportion, we often marre all. And to know how to make a good choice, and how far forth one may proceed (still keeping a due measure) is one of the hardest labours I know. It is a signe of a noble, and effect of an undanted spirit, to know how to second, and how far forth he shall condescend to his childish proceedings, and how to guide them. As for my selfe, I can better and with more strength walke up, than downe a hill. Those which according to our common fashion, undertake with one selfe-same lesson, and like maner of education, to direct many spirits of divers formes and different humours, it is no marvell if among a multitude of children, they scarse meet with two or three, that reap any good fruit by their discipline, or that come to any perfection. I would not only have him to demand an accompt of the words contained in his lesson, but of the sense and substance thereof, and judge of the profit he hath made of it, not by the testimonie of his memorie, but by the witnesse of his life. That what he lately learned, he cause him to set forth and pourtray the same into sundrie shapes, and then

to accommodate it to as many different and Indiseverall subjects; whereby he shal perceive, gested whether he have yet apprehended the same, and therein enfeoffed himselfe, at due times taking his instruction from the institution given by Plato. It is a signe of cruditie and indigestion for a man to yeeld up his meat, even as he swallowed the same: the stomacke hath not wrought his full operation, unlesse it have changed forme, and altered fashion of that which was given him to boyle and concoct.

[Wee see men gape after no reputation but learning, and when they say, such a one is a learned man, they thinke they have said enough;] Our minde doth move at others pleasure, as tyed and forced to serve the fantasies of others, being brought under by authoritie, and forced to stoope to the lure of their bare lesson; wee have beene so subjected to harpe upon one string, that we have no way left us to descant upon voluntarie: our vigor and libertie is cleane extinct. Nunquam tutelæ suæ fiunt. They never come to their owne tuition. It was my hap to bee familiarlie acquainted with an honest man at Pisa, but such an Aristotelian, as he held this infallible position; that a conformitie to Aristotles doctrine was the true touchstone and squire of all solide imaginations, and perfect veritie; for, whatsoever had no coherencie with it, was but fond Chimeraes, and idle humours; in asmuch as he had knowne all, seene all, and said all. This proposition of his, being someknoweth

Let him what over amply and injuriously interpreted know by some, made him a long time after to be that he troubled in the inquisition of Rome. I would have him make his scholler narrowly to sift all things with discretion, and harbour nothing in his head by meere authoritie, or upon trust. Aristotles principles shall be no more axiomes unto him, than the Stoikes or Epicurians. Let this diversitie of judgements be proposed unto him, if he can, he shall be able to distinguish the truth from falsehood, if not, he will remaine doubtfull.

> Che non men che saper dubbiar m'aggrada. -DANTE, Inferno, cant. xii. 48.

No lesse it pleaseth me, To doubt, than wise to be.

For if by his owne discourse he embrace the opinions of Xenophon, or of Plato, they shall be no longer theirs, but his. He that meerely followeth another, traceth nothing, and seeketh nothing: Non sumus sub Rege, sibi quisque se vindicet (Sen. Epist. xxxiii.). We are not under a Kings command, every one may challenge himselfe, for let him at least know that he knoweth. It is requisite he endevour as much to feed himselfe with their conceits, as labour to learne their precepts; which, so he know how to applie, let him hardly forget, where, or whence he had them. Truth and reason are common to all, and are no more proper unto him that spake them heretofore, than unto him that shall speake them here-

after. And it is no more according to Platoes Honey is opinion, than to mine, since both he and I culled understand and see alike. The Bees doe here divers and there sucke this, and cull that flower, flowers but afterward they produce the hony, which is peculiarly their owne, then is it no more Thyme or Majoram. So of peeces borrowed of others, he may lawfully alter, transforme, and confound them, to shape out of them a perfect peece of worke, altogether his owne; alwaies provided, his judgement, his travell, studie, and institution tend to nothing, but to frame the same perfect. Let him hardly conceale, where, or whence he hath had any helpe, and make no shew of any thing, but of that which he hath made himselfe. Pirates, filchers, and borrowers, make a shew of their purchaces and buildings, but not of that which they have taken from others: you see not the secret fees or bribes Lawyers take of their Clients, but you shall manifestly discover the alliances they make, the honours they get for their children, and the goodly houses they build. No man makes open shew of his receits, but every one of his gettings. The good that comes of studie (or at least should come) is to prove better, wiser, and honester. It is the understanding power (said Epicharmus) that seeth and heareth, it is it, that profiteth all, and disposeth all, that moveth, swayeth, and ruleth all: all things else are but blind, senselesse, and without spirit. And truly in barring him of libertie to doe any thing of himselfe, we make him

Value of thereby more servile and more coward. Who a ready would ever enquire of his scholler what he memory thinketh of Rhetorike, of Grammar, of this, or of that sentence of Cicero? Which things throughly fethered (as if they were oracles) are let flie into our memorie; in which both letters and syllables are substantiall parts of the subject. To know by roat is no perfect know-ledge, but to keep what one hath committed to his memories charge, is commendable: what a man directly knoweth, that will he dispose-of, without turning still to his booke, or looking to his pattern. A meere bookish sufficiencie is unpleasant. All I expect of it, is an imbellishing of my actions, and not a foundation of them, according to Platoes mind, who saith, constancie, faith, and sinceritie, are true Philosophie; as for other Sciences, and tending else-where, they are but garish paintings. I would faine have Paluel or Pompey, those two excellent dauncers of our time, with all their nimblenesse, teach any man to doe their loftie tricks, and high capers, only with seeing them done, and without stirring out of his place, as some Pedanticall fellowes would instruct our minds without moving or putting it in practice. And glad would I be to find one, that would teach us how to manage a horse, to tosse a pike, to shoot-off a peece, to play upon the lute, or to warble with the voice, without any exercise, as these kind of men would teach us to judge, and how to speake well, without any exercise of speaking or judging. In which kind of life,

or as I may terme it, Prentiship, what action Worth of or object soever presents it-selfe unto our eies, travel may serve us in stead of a sufficient booke. A prettie pranke of a boy, a knavish tricke of a page, a foolish part of a lackey, an idle tale or any discourse else, spoken either in jest or earnest, at the table or in companie, are even as new subjects for us to worke-upon: for furtherance whereof, commerce or common societie among men, visiting of forraine countries, and observing of strange fashions, are verie necessary, not only to be able (after the manner of our yong gallants of France) to report how many paces the Church of Santa Rotonda is in length or breadth, or what rich garments the curtezan Signora Livia weareth, and the worth of her hosen; or as some do, nicely to disp and how much longer or broader the face of Nero is, which they have seene in some old ruines of Italie, than that which is made for him in other old monuments elsewhere. But they should principally observe, and be able to make certaine relation of the humours and fashions of those countries they have seene, that they may the better know how to correct and prepare their wits by those of others. I would therefore have him begin even from his infancie to travell abroad; and first, that at one shoot he may hit two markes, he should see neighbour - countries, namely where languages are most different from ours; for, unlesse a mans tongue be fashioned unto them in his youth, he shall

One never attaine to the true pronuntiation of should not be spared in youth of the wiser sort, that it agreeth not with reason, that a childe be alwaies nuzzled, cockered, dandled, and brought up in his parents lap or sight; forsomuch as their naturall kindnesse, or (as I may call tender tondnesse, causeth often, even the wisest to prove so idle, so over-nice, and so base-minded. For parents are not capable, neither can they find in their hearts to see them checkt, corrected, or chastised, nor indure to see them brought up so meanly, and so far from daintinesse, and many times so dangerously, as they must needs be. And it would grieve them to see their children come home from those exercises, that a Gentleman must necessarily acquaint himselfe with, sometimes all wet and bemyred, other times sweatie, and full of dust, and to drinke being either extreme hot, or exceeding cold; and it would trouble them to see him ride a rough - untamed horse, or with his weapon furiously incounter a skilfull Fencer, or to handle and shoot-off a musket; against which there is no remedy, if he will make him prove a sufficient, compleat, or honest man: he must not be spared in his youth; and it will come to passe, that he shall many times have occasion and be forced to shocke the rules of Physicke.

A hard discipline beneficial

Vitamque sub dio et trepidis agat In rebus.— Hor. i. Od. ii. 4. Leade he his life in open aire, And in affaires full of despaire.

It is not sufficient to make his minde strong, his muskles must also be strengthned: the minde is over-borne if it be not seconded: and it is too much for her alone to discharge two offices. I have a feeling how mine panteth, being joyned to so tender and sensible a bodie, and that lieth so heavie upon it. And in my lecture, I often perceive how my Authors in their writings sometimes commend examples for magnanimitie and force, that rather proceed from a thicke skin and hardnes of the bones. I have knowne men, women and children borne of so hard a constitution, that a blow with a cudgell would lesse hurt them, than a filip would doe me, and so dull and blockish, that they will neither stir tongue nor eye-browes, beat them never so much. When wrestlers goe about to counterfeit the Philosophers patience, they rather shew the vigor of their sinnewes, than of their heart. For the custome to beare travell, is to tolerate griefe: Labor callum obducit dolori (Cic. Tusc. Qu. ii.): Labour worketh a hardnesse upon sorrow. Hee must be enured to suffer the paine and hardnesse of exercises, that so he may be induced to endure the paine of the colicke, of cauterie, of fals, of sprains, and other diseases incident to mans bodie: yea, if need require, patiently to beare imprisonment, and other tortures, by which sufferance He should be discreet and not easily offended

he shall come to be had in more esteeme and accompt: for according to time and place, the good as well as the bad man may haply fall into them; we have seen it by experience. Who-soever striveth against the lawes, threats good men with mischiefe and extortion. Moreover, the authoritie of the Tutor (who should be soveraigne over him) is by the cockering and presence of the parents, hindred and interrupted: besides the awe and respect which the houshold beares him, and the knowledge of the meanes, possibilities, and greatnesse of his house, are in my judgement, no small lets in a young Gentleman. In this schoole of commerce, and societie among men, I have often noted this vice, that in lieu of taking acquaintance of others, we only endevour to make our selves knowne to them; and we are more ready to utter such merchandize as we have, than to ingrosse and purchase new commodities. Silence and modestie are qualities verie convenient to civil conversation. It is also necessary, that a young man be rather taught to be discreetlysparing, and close - handed, than prodigallywastfull and lavish in his expences, and moderate in husbanding his wealth when he shall come to possesse it. And not to take pepper in the nose for every foolish tale that shal be spoken in his presence, because it is an uncivil importunity, to contradict, whatso-ever is not agreeing to our humour: let him be pleased to correct himselfe. And let him not seeme to blame that in others, which

he refuseth to doe himselfe, nor goe about to Wise and withstand common fashions. Licet sapere sine without pompa, sine invidia (Sen. Epist. ciii. f.). A man ostentamay bee wise without ostentation, without envie, Let him avoid those imperious images of the world, those uncivil behaviours, and childish ambition, wherewith Godwot, too-too many are possest: that is, to make a faire shew of that, which is not in him: endevouring to be reputed other than indeed he is; and as if reprehension and new devices were hard to come by, he would by that meane acquire unto himselfe the name of some peculiar vertue. As it pertaineth but to great Poets to use the libertie of arts; so is it tolerable but in noble minds, and great spirits to have a preheminence above ordinarie fashions. Si quid Socrates et Aristippus contra morem et consuetudinem fecerunt, idem sibi ne arbitretur licere: Magis enim illi et divinis bonis hanc licentiam assequebantur (Cic. Off. i.). If Socrates and Aristippus have done ought against custome or good manner, let not a man thinke he may doe the same : for they obtained this licence by their great and excellent good parts: He shall be taught, not to enter rashly into discourse or contesting, but when he shall encounter with a Champion, worthie his strength; And then would I not have him imploy all the tricks that may fit his turne, but only such as may stand him in most stead. That he be taught to be curious in making choice of his reasons, loving pertinency, and by consequence brevitie. That above all, he be instructed to yeeld, yea to quit his weapons unto

a gentleman

The prin- truth, as soone as he shall discerne the same, ciples of whether it proceed from his adversarie, or upon better advice from himselfe, for, he shall not be preferred to any place of eminencie above others. for repeating of a prescript part; and he is not engaged to defend any cause, further than he may approove it; nor shall he bee of that trade, where the libertie for a man to repent and readvise himselfe is sold for readie money. ut omnia, quæ præscripta et imperata sint, defendat, necessitate ulla cogitur (Cic. Acad. Qu. iv.). Nor is he inforced by any necessitie to defend and make good all that is prescribed and commanded him. If his tutor agree with my humour, he shall frame his affection, to be a most loyall and true subject to his Prince, and a most affectionate and couragious Gentleman, in al that may concerne the honor of his Soveraigne, or the good of his countrie. And endevour to suppresse in him all maner of affection to undertake any action otherwise than for a publike good and dutie. Besides many inconveniences, which greatly prejudice our libertie, by reason of these particular bonds; the judgement of a man that is waged and bought, either it is lesse free and honest, or else it is blemisht with oversight and ingratitude. meere and precise Courtier can neither have law nor will to speake or thinke, otherwise than favourablie of his Master, who among so many thousands of his subjects, hath made choice of him alone, to institute and bring him up with his owne hand. These favours, with the commodities that follow minion Courtiers, corrupt

(not without some colour of reason) his libertie, The care and dazle his judgement. It is therefore com- of words monly seene, that the Courtiers-language differs from other mens, in the same state, and to be of no great credit in such matters. Let therefore his conscience and vertue shine in his speech, and reason be his chiefe direction. Let him be taught to confesse such faults as he shall discover in his owne discourses, albeit none other perceive them but himselfe; for it is an evident shew of judgement, and effect of sinceritie, which are the chiefest qualities he aymeth at. That wilfully to strive, and obstinately to contest in words, are common qualities, most apparent in basest mindes: That to re-advise and correct himselfe, and when one is most earnest, to leave an ill opinion, are rare, noble, and Philosophicall conditions. Being in companie, he shall be put in minde, to cast his eyes round about, and every where: For I note, that the chiefe places are usually seazed upon by the most unworthie, and lesse capable; and that height of fortune is seldome joyned with sufficiencie. I have seene, that whilst they at the upper end of a board were busie entertaining themselves, with talking of the beautie of the hangings about a chamber, or of the taste of some good cup of wine, many good discourses at the lower end, have utterly been lost. He shall weigh the carriage of every man in his calling, a Heardsman, a Mason, a Stranger, or a traveller; all must be imployed; every one according to his worth; for all helps to make up houshold; yea, the follie and the simplicitie

of the study of History

Worth of others shall be as instructions to him. By controlling the graces and manners of others, he shall acquire into himselfe envie of the good, and contempt of the bad. Let him hardly be possest with an honest curiositie to search out the nature and causes of all things: let him survay what-soever is rare and singular about him; a building, a fountaine, a man, a place where any battell hath been fought, or the passages of Casar or Charlemaine.

> Quæ tellus sit lenta gelu, quæ putris ab æstu, Ventus in Italiam quis bene vela ferat. -Prop. iv. El. iii. 39.

> What land is parcht with heat, what clog'd with frost,

What wind drives kindly to th' Italian coast.

He shall endevour to be familiarly acquainted with the customes, with the meanes, with the state, with the dependances and alliances of all Princes; they are things soone and pleasant to be learned, and most profitable to be knowne. In this acquaintance of men, my meaning is, that hee chiefely comprehend them, that live but by the memorie of bookes. He shall, by the help of Histories, informe himselfe of the worthiest minds that were in the best ages. frivolous studie, if a man list, but of unvaluable worth, to such as can make use of it. And as Plato saith, the onely studie the Lacedemonians reserved for themselves. What profit shall he not reap, touching this point, reading the lives of our Plutark? Alwayes conditioned, the

master bethinke himselfe whereto his charge Plutarch tendeth, and that he imprint not so much in his the schollers mind the date of the ruine of Carthage, masteras the manners of Hanniball and Scipio, nor so much where Marcellus died, as because he was unworthy of his devoire he died there: that he teach him not so much to know Histories, as to judge of them. It is, amongst things that best agree with my humour, the subject to which our spirits doe most diversly applie themselves. I have read in Titus Livius a number of things, which peradventure others never read, in whom Plutarke haply read a hundred more, than ever I could read, and which perhaps the author himselfe did never intend to set downe. some kind of men, it is a meere gramaticall studie, but to others a perfect anatomie of Philosophie; by meanes whereof, the secretest part of our nature is searched-into. There are in Plutarke many ample discourses most worthy to be knowne: for in my judgement, he is the chiefe work - master of such works, whereof there are a thousand, whereat he hath but slightly glanced; for with his finger he doth but point us out a way to walke in, if we list; and is sometimes pleased to give but a touch at the quickest and maine point of a discourse, from whence they are by diligent studie to be drawne, and so brought into open market. As that saying of his. That the inhabitants of Asia served but one alone, because they could not pronounce one onely syllable, which is Non, gave perhaps both subject and occasion to my

than the whole

The half friend Beotie to compose his booke of voluntarie is greater servitude. If it were no more but to see Plutarke wrest a slight action to mans life; or a word that seemeth to beare no such sence, it will serve for a whole discourse. It is pittie men of understanding should so much love brevitie, without doubt their reputation is thereby better, but we the worse. Plutarke had rather we should commend him for his judgement, than for his knowledge, he loveth better to leave a kind of longing-desire in us of him, than a sacietie. He knew verie well, that even in good things, too much may be said: and that Alexandridas did justly reprove him, who spake verie good sentences to the Ephores, but they were over tedious. Oh stranger, quoth he, thou speakest what thou oughtest, otherwise then thou shouldest. Those that have leane and thin bodies stuffe them up with bumbasting. And such as have but poore matter, will puffe it up with loftie words. There is a marvelous cleerenesse, or as I may terme it an enlightning of mans judgement drawne from the commerce of men, and by frequenting abroad in the world: we are all so contrived and compact in our selves, that our sight is made shorter by the length of our nose. When Socrates was de-maunded whence he was, he answered, not of Athens, but of the world; for he, who had his imagination more full, and farther stretching, embraced all the world for his native Citie, and extended his acquaintance, his societie, and affections to all man-kind; and not as we do.

that looke no further than our feet. If the frost Variety chance to nip the vines about my village, my of Mother Priest doth presently argue, that the wrath of Nature God hangs over our head, and threatneth all mankind: and judgeth that the Pippe is alreadie falne upon the Canibals.

In viewing these intestine and civill broiles of ours, who doth not exclaime, that this worlds vast-frame is neere unto a dissolution, and that the day of judgement is readie to fall on us? never remembring that many worse revolutions have been seene, and that whilest we are plunged in griefe, and overwhelmed in sorrow, a thousand other parts of the world besides are blessed with all happinesse, and wallow in pleasures, and never thinke on us? whereas, when I behold our lives, our licence, and impunitie, I wonder to see them so milde and easie. He on whose head it haileth, thinks all the Hemispheare besides to be in a storme and tempest. And as that dull-pated Savoyard said, that if the seelie King of France could cunningly have managed his fortune, he might verie well have made himselfe chiefe Steward of his Lords houshold. whose imagination conceived no other greatnesse than his Masters; we are all insensible of this kind of errour: an errour of great consequence and prejudice. But whosoever shall present unto his inward eyes, as it were in a Table, the Idea of the great image of our universall mother Nature, attired in her richest robes, sitting in the throne of her Majestie, and in her visage shall read, so generall, and so constant a varietie; he

chances

Changes that therein shall view himselfe, not himselfe and alone, but a whole Kingdome, to be in respect of a great circle; but the smallest point that can be imagined, he onely can value things according to their essentiall greatnesse and proportion. This great universe (which some multiplie as Species under one Genus) is the true lookingglasse wherin we must looke, if we will know whether we be of a good stamp, or in the right byase. To conclude, I would have this worldsframe to be my Schollers choise-booke: So many strange humours, sundrie sects, varying judgements, diverse opinions, different lawes, and fantasticall customes teach us to judge rightly of ours, and instruct our judgement to acknowledge his imperfections and naturall weaknesse, which is no easie an apprentiship: So many innovations of estates, so many fals of Princes, and changes of publike fortune, may, and ought to teach us, not to make so great accompt of ours: So many names, so many victories, and so many conquests buried in darke oblivion, makes the hope to perpetuate our names, but ridiculous, by the surprising of ten Argo-lettiers, or of a small cottage, which is knowne but by his fall. The pride and fiercenesse of so many strange and gorgeous shewes: the pride-puft majestie of so many courts, and of their greatnesse, ought to confirme and assure our sight, undauntedly to beare the affronts and thunder-claps of ours, without seeling our eyes: So many thousands of men, low-laide in their graves afore us, may encourage us, not to feare,

or be dismaied to go meet so good companie in Philothe other world; and so of all things else. Our sophy a life (said Pithagoras) drawes neare unto the stone great and populous assemblies of the Olympike games, wherein some, to get the glorie, and to win the goale of the games, exercise their bodies with all industrie; others, for greedinesse of gaine, bring thither marchandise to sell: others there are (and those be not the worst) that seek after no other good, but to marke, how, wherefore, and to what end, all things are done: and to be spectators or observers of other mens lives and actions, that so they may the better judge and direct their owne. Unto examples may all the most profitable Discourses of Philosophie be sorted, which ought to be the touch-stone of humane actions, and a rule to square them by,

-quid fas optare, quid asper Utile nummus habet, patriæ charisque propinquis Quantum elargiri deceat, quem te Deus esse Jussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re, Quid sumus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur. -Pers. Sat. iii. 69, 67.

to whom may be said,

What thou maiest wish, what profit may come cleare,

From new-stampt coyne, to friends and countrie

What thou ought'st give: whom God would have thee bee,

And in what part mongst men he placed thee. What we are, and wherefore, To live heer we were bore.

What it is to know, and not to know (which

How to live and how to die well

ought to be the scope of studie) what valour, what temperance, and what justice is: what difference there is betweene ambition and avarice, bondage and freedome, subjection and libertie, by which markes a man may distinguish true and perfect contentment, and how far-forth one ought to feare or apprehend death, griefe, or shame.

Et quo quemque modo fugiátque ferátque laborem.
—Virg. Aen. viii. 853.

How ev'ry labour he may plie, And beare, or ev'ry labour flie.

What wards or springs move us, and the causes of so many motions in us: For me seemeth, that the first discourses, wherewith his conceit should be sprinkled, ought to be those, that rule his manners, and direct his sense; which will both teach him to know himselfe, and how to live, and how to die well. Among the liberall Sciences, let us begin with that which makes us free: Indeed, they may all in some sort stead us, as an instruction to our life, and use of it, as all other things else serve the same to some purpose or other. But let us make especiall choice of that, which may directly and pertinently serve the same. If we could restraine and adapt the appurtenances of our life to their right byase and naturall limits, we should find the best part of the Sciences that now are in use, cleane out of fashion with us: yea, and in those that are most in use, there are certaine by-wayes and deep-flows most profitable, which we should

do well to leave, and according to the institution Useless of Socrates, limit the course of our studies in knowthose where profit is wanting.

ledge

-sapere aude, Incipe: vivendi qui recte prorogat horam, Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at ille Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum. -Hor. i. Epist. ii. 40.

Be bold to be wise: to begin, be strong, He that to live well doth the time prolong, Clowne-like expects, till downe the streame be run; That runs, and will run, till the world be done.

It is more simplicitie to teach our children.

Quid moveant Pisces, animosáque signa Leonis, Lotus et Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua. -Prop. iv. El. i. 85.

What Pisces move, or hot-breath'd Leos beames, Or Capricornus bath'd in westerne streames.

The knowledge of the starres, and the motion of the eighth spheare, before their owne.

Τί Πλειάδεσσι κάμοί τί δ' ἀστράσι βοώτεω. What longs it to the seaven stars, and me, Or those about Bootes be.

Anaximenes writing to Pythagoras, saith, with what sense can I ammuse my selfe to the secrets of the Starres, having continually death or bondage before mine eyes? For at that time the Kings of Persia were making preparations to war against his Countrie. All men ought to say so. Being beaten with ambition, with avarice, with rashnesse, and with superstition, and having such

make better and

Teach other enemies unto life within him. Wherefore first to shall I study and take care about the mobility and variation of the world? When hee is once, wiser taught what is fit to make him better and wiser. he shall be entertained with Logicke, naturall Philosophy, Geometry, and Rhetoricke, then having setled his judgement, looke what science he doth most addict himselfe unto, he shall in short time attaine to the perfection of it. His lecture shall be somtimes by way of talke and somtimes by booke: his tutor may now and then supply him with the same Author, as an end and motive of his institution: sometimes giving him the pith and substance of it ready chewed. And if of himselfe he be not so throughly acquainted with bookes, that hee may readily find so many notable discourses as are in them to effect his purpose, it shall not be amisse, that some learned man being appointed to keepe him company, who at any time of need, may furnish him with such munition, as hee shall stand in need of; that hee may afterward distribute and dispense them to his best use. And that this kind of lesson be more easie and naturall than that of Gaza, who will make question? Those are but harsh, thornie, and unpleasant precepts; vaine, idle and immateriall words, on which small hold may be taken; wherein is nothing to quicken the minde. In this, the spirit findeth substance to [bite] and feed upon. A fruit without all comparison much better, and that will soone be ripe. It is a thing worthy consideration, to see what state things are brought unto in this our age; and how Philo-

sophie, even to the wisest, and men of best Nothing understanding, is but an idle, vaine and fantasti- more encall name, of small use, and lesse worth, both ticing in opinion and effect. I thinke these Sophis- Philotries are the cause of it, which have forestalled sophy the wayes to come unto it: They doe very ill, that goe about to make it seeme as it were inaccessible for children to come unto, setting it foorth with a wrimpled, gastlie, and frowning visage; who hath masked her with so counterfet, pale, and hideous a countenance? There is nothing more beauteous, nothing more delightfull, nothing more gamesome; and as I may say, nothing more fondly wanton: for she presenteth nothing to our eyes, and preacheth nothing to our eares, but sport and pastime. A sad and lowring looke plainly declareth, that that is not her haunt. Demetrius the Gramarian, finding a companie of Philosophers sitting close together in the Temple of Delphos, said unto them, Either I am deceived, or by your plausible and pleasant lookes, you are not in any serious and earnest discourse amongst your selves; to whom one of them named Heracleon the Megarian answered, That belongeth to them, who busie themselves in seeking, whether future tense of the verbe βάλλω hath a double λ, or that labour to find the derivation of the comparatives, χείρων, βέλτιων, and of the superlatives χείριστον, βέλτιστον, it is they, that must chafe in intertaining themselves with their science: as for discourses of Philosophie they are wont to glad, rejoyce, and not to vex and molest those that use them.

Rejoice always Deprendas animi tormenta latentis in ægro Corpore, deprendas et gaudia, sumit utrumque Inde habitum facies.—Juven. Sat. 18.

You may perceive the torments of the mind, Hid in sicke bodie, you the joyes may find, The face such habit takes in either kind.

That mind which harboureth Philosophie, ought by reason of her sound health, make that bodie also sound and healthie: it ought to make her contentment to through-shine in all exteriour parts: it ought to shapen and modell all outward demeanours to the modell of it; and by consequence arme him that doth possesse it, with a gracious stoutnesse, and lively audacitie, with an active and pleasing gesture, and with a setled and cheerefull countenance. The most evident token, and apparant signe of true wisdome, is a constant, and unconstrained rejoycing, whose estate is like unto all things above the Moone, that is, ever cleare, alwaies bright. is Baroco and Baralipton, that makes their followers prove so base and idle, and not Philosophie; they know her not, but by hearesay; what? Is it not shee, that cleereth all stormes of the mind? And teacheth miserie, famine, and sicknesse to laugh? Not by reason of some imaginarie Epicicles, but by naturall and palpable reasons. Shee aymeth at nothing but vertue: it is vertue shee seekes after: which as the schoole saith, is not pitcht on the top of an high, steepie, or inaccessible hill; for they that have come unto her, affirme, that cleanecontrarie, shee keeps her stand, and holds her

mansion, in a faire, flourishing, and pleasant Her ways plaine, whence as from an high watch tower, are ways she survaieth all things, to be subject unto her, of pleasto whom any man may with great facilitie come, if he but know the way or entrance to her palace: for, the pathes that lead unto her, are certaine fresh, and shadie greene allies, sweet and flowrie waies, whose ascent is even, easie, and nothing wearisome, like unto that of heavensvaults. Forsomuch as they have not frequented this vertue, who gloriously, as in a throne of Majestie sits soveraigne, goodly, triumphant, lovely, equally delicious, and couragious, protesting her selfe to be a professed and irreconciliable enemie to all sharpnesse, austeritie, feare, and compulsion; having nature for her guide, fortune and voluptuousnesse for her companions; they according to their weaknesse have imaginarily fained her, to have a foolish, sad, grim, quarelous, spitefull, threatning, and disdainfull visage, with an horride and unpleasant looke; and have placed her, upon a craggie, sharpe, and unfrequented rocke, amidst desert cliffes, and uncouth crags, as a skar-crow, or bug-beare, to affright the common people with. Now the tutour, which ought to know, that he should rather seek to fill the mind, and store the will of his disciple, as much, or rather more, with love and affection, than with awe, and reverence unto vertue, may shew and tell him, that Poets

follow common humours, making him plainly to perceive, and as it were palpably to feele, that the Gods have rather placed labour and sweat at

height of virtue

The prize, the entrances, which lead to Venus chambers, than glory, and at the doores, that direct to Pallas cabinets.

And when he shall perceive his scholler to have a sensible feeling of himselfe, presenting Bradamant, or Angelica before him, as a Mistresse to enjoy, embelished with a naturall, active, generous, and unspotted beautie, not uglie, or Giant-like, but blithe and livelie, in respect of a wanton, soft, affected, and artificiallflaring beautie; the one attired like unto a young man, coyfed with a bright-shining helmet, the other disguised and drest about the head like unto an impudent harlot, with embroyderies, frizelings, and carcanets of pearles: he will no doubt deeme his owne love to be a man and no woman, if in his choice he differ from that effeminate shepherd of Phrygia. In this new kind of lesson, he shall declare unto him, that the prize, the glorie, and height of true vertue, consisted in the facilitie, profit, and pleasure of his exercises: so far from difficultie, and incumbrances, that children as well as men, the simple as soone as the wise, may come unto her. Discretion and temperance, not force or waywardnesse are the instruments to bring him unto her. Socrates (vertues chiefe favorite) that he might the better walke in the pleasant, naturall, and open path, of her progresses, doth voluntarily and in good earnest, quit all compulsion. Shee is the nurse and foster-mother of all humane pleasures, who in making them just and upright, she also makes them sure and sincere. By moderating them, she keepeth them in ure

and breath. In limiting and cutting them off, The prowhom she refuseth; she whets us on toward per office those she leaveth unto us; and plenteously of virtue leaves us them, which Nature pleaseth, and like a kind mother giveth us over unto sacietie, if not unto wearisomnesse, unlesse we will peradventure say, that the rule and bridle, which stayeth the drunkard before drunkennesse, the glutton before surfetting, and the letcher before the losing of his haire, be the enemies of our pleasures. If common fortune faile her, it cleerely scapes her; or she cares not for her, or she frames another unto herselfe, altogether her owne, not so fleeting, nor so rowling. She knoweth the way how to be rich, mightie and wise, and how to lie in sweet-perfumed beds. She loveth life; she delights in beautie, in glorie, and in health. But her proper and particular office is, first to know how to use such goods temperately, and how to lose them constantly. An office much more noble, than severe, without which, all course of life is unnaturall, turbulent, and deformed, to which one may lawfully joyne those rocks, those in-cumbrances, and those hideous monsters. If so it happen, that his Disciple prove of so different a condition, that he rather love to give eare to an idle fable, than to the report of some noble voiage, or other notable and wise discourse, when he shall heare it; that at the sound of a Drum, or clang of a Trumpet, which are wont to rowze and arme the youthly heat of his companions, turneth to another that calleth

rous discipline

The good him to see a play, tumbling, jugling tricks, or of vigo- other idle lose-time sports; and who for pleasures sake doth not deeme it more delightsome to returne all sweatie and wearie from a victorious combat, from wrestling, or riding of a horse, than from a Tennis-court, or dancing schoole, with the prize or honour of such exercises; The best remedy I know for such a one, is, to put him prentise to some base occupation, in some good towne or other, yea, were he the sonne of a Duke; according to Platoes rule, who saith, That children must be placed, not according to their fathers conditions, but the faculties of their mind. Since it is Philosophie that teacheth us to live, and that infancie as well as other ages, may plainly read her lessons in the same, why should it not be imparted unto young Schollers?

> Udum et molle lutum est, nunc nunc properandus, et acri Fingendus sine fine rota .- PERS. Sat. iii. 23.

He's moist and soft mould, and must by and by Be cast, made up, while wheele whirl's readily.

We are taught to live, when our life is wellnigh spent. Many schollers have been infected with that loathsome and marrow-wasting disease, before ever they came to read Aristotles treatise of Temperance. Cicero was wont to say, That could he out-live the lives of two men, he shoula never find leasure to study the Lyrike Poets. I find these Sophisters both worse and more unprofitable. Our childe is engaged in greater matters: And but the first fifteene or sixteene

totle

yeares of his life, are due unto Pedantisme, the The rest unto action: let us therefore imploy so short teaching time, as we have to live, in more necessarie in- of Arisstructions. It is an abuse; remove these thornie quiddities of Logike, whereby our life can no whit be amended, and betake our selves to the simple discourses of Philosophy; know how to chuse and fitly to make use of them: they are much more easie to be conceived than one of Bocace his tales. A childe comming from nurse is more capable of them, than he is to learne to read or write. Philosophy hath discourses, whereof infancie as well as decaying old-age may make good use. I am of Plutarkes mind, which is, that Aristotle did not so much ammuse his great Disciple about the arts how to frame Syllogismes, or the principles of Geometrie, as he endevoured to instruct him with good precepts, concerning valour, prowesse, magnanimitie, and temperance, and an undanted assurance not to feare any thing; and with such munition he sent him, being yet verie young, to subdue the Empire of the world, only with 30000. footmen, 4000. horsemen, and 42000. Crownes in monie. As for other arts and sciences; he saith Alexander honored them, and commended their excellencie and comlinesse; but for any pleasure he tooke in them, his affection could not easily be drawne to exercise them.

—petite hinc juvenesque senesque Finem animo certum, miserisque viatica canis.

-Sat. v. 64.

Young men and old, draw hence (in your affaires) Your minds set marke, provision for gray haires.

ness

Evils of It is that which Epicurus said in the beginbookish- ning of his letter to Meniceus: Neither let the youngest shun, nor the oldest wearie himselfe in philosophying, for who doth otherwise seemeth to say, that either the season to live happily is not yet come, or is already past. Yet would I not have this young gentleman pent-up, nor carelesly cast-off to the heedlesse choler, or melancholy humour of the hasty Schoole-master. I would not have his budding spirit corrupted with keeping him fast-tied, and as it were labouring foureteene or fifteene houres a day poaring on his booke, as some doe, as if he were a day-labouring man; neither doe I thinke it fit, if at any time, by reason of some solitarie or melancholy complexion, he should be seene with an over-indiscreet application given to his booke, it should be cherished in him; for, that doth often make him both unapt for civill conversation, and distracts him from better imployments: How many have I seene in my daies, by an over-greedy desire of knowledge, become as it were foolish? Carneades was so deeply plunged, and as I may say besotted in it, that he could never have leasure to cut his haire, or pare his nailes: nor would I have his noble manners obscured by the incivilitie and barbarisme of others. The French wisdome hath long since proverbially been spoken of, as verie apt to conceive study in her youth, but most unapt to keepe it long. In good truth, we see at this day, that there is nothing lovelier to behold, than the young children of France;

but for the most part, they deceive the hope A time for which was fore-apprehended of them: for when everythey once become men, there is no excellencie thing at all in them. I have heard men of understanding hold this opinion, that the Colleges to which they are sent (of which there are store) doe thus besot them: whereas to our scholler, a cabinet, a gardin, the table, the bed, a solitarinesse, a companie, morning and evening, and all houres shall be alike unto him, all places shall be a study for him: for Philosophy (as a former of judgements, and modeler of customes) shall be his principall lesson, having the privilege to entermeddle her selfe with all things, and in all places. Isocrates the Orator, being once requested at a great banket to speake of his art, when all thought he had reason to answer, said, It is not now time to doe what I can, and what should now be done, I cannot doe it; For, to present orations, or to enter into disputation of Rhetorike, before a companie assembled together to be merrie, and make good cheere, would be but a medly of harsh and jarring musicke. The like may be said of all other Sciences. But touching Philosophy, namely in that point where it treateth of man, and of his duties, and offices, it hath been the common judgement of the wisest, that in regard of the pleasantnesse of her conversation, she ought not to be rejected, neither at banquets, nor at sports. And Plato having invited her to his solemne feast, we see how kindly she entertaineth the companie with a milde behaviour, fitly suting

Mens her selfe to time and place, notwithstanding it sana in be one of his learned'st and profitable discourses. corpore

sano

Æquè pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æquè, Et neglecta æquè pueris senibusque nocebit. —Hor. i. Ep. i. 25.

Poore men alike, alike rich men it easeth, Alike it scorned, old and young displeaseth.

So doubtlesse he shall lesse be idle than others; for even as the paces we bestow walking in a gallerie, although they be twice as many more, wearie us not so much as those we spend in going a set journey: So our lesson being past over, as it were, by chance, or way of encounter, without strict observance of time or place, being applied to all our actions, shall be digested, and never felt. All sports and exercises shall be a part of his study; running, wrestling, musicke, dancing, hunting, and managing of armes, and horses. I would have the exterior demeanor or decencie, and the disposition of his person to be fashioned together with his mind; for, it is not a mind, it is not a body that we erect, but it is a man, and we must not make two parts of him. And as Plato saith, They must not be erected one without another, but equally be directed, no otherwise than a couple of horses matched to draw in one self-same teeme. And to heare him, doth he not seem to imploy more time and care in the exercises of his bodie: and to thinke that the mind is together with the same exercised, and not the contrarie? As for other matters, this institution ought to be directed

by a sweet-severe mildnesse; Not as some do, Methods who in liew of gently-bidding children to the of disbanquet of letters, present them with nothing cipline but horror and crueltie. Let me have this violence and compulsion removed, there is nothing that, in my seeming, doth more bastardise and dizzie a wel-borne and gentle nature: If you would have him stand in awe of shame and punishment, doe not so much enure him to it: accustome him patiently to endure sweat and cold, the sharpnesse of the wind, the heat of the sunne, and how to despise all hazards. Remove from him all nicenesse and quaintnesse in clothing, in lying, in eating, and in drinking: fashion him to all things; that he prove not a faire and wanton-puling boy, but a lustie and vigorous boy: When I was a child, being a man, and now am old, I have ever judged and believed the same. But amongst other things, I could never away with this kind of discipline used in most of our Colleges. It had peradventure been lesse hurtfull, if they had somewhat inclined to mildnesse, or gentle intreatie. It is a verie prison of captivated youth, and proves dissolute, in punishing it before it be so. Come upon them when they are going to their lesson, and you heare nothing but whipping and brawling, both of children tormented, and masters besotted with anger and chafing. How wide are they, which go about to allure a childs mind to go to his booke, being yet but tender and fearefull, with a stearne-frowning countenance, and with hands-full of rods? Oh wicked

The laws and pernicious manner of teaching! which of Plato Quintillian hath very wel noted, that this imperious kind of authoritie, namely, this way of punishing of children, drawes many dangerous inconveniences within. How much more decent were it, to see their school-houses and formes strewed with greene boughes and flowers, than with bloudy burchen-twigs? If it lay in me, I would doe as the Philosopher Speusippus did, who caused the pictures of Gladnesse and Joy, of Flora, and of the Graces, to be set up round about his school-house. Where their profit lieth, there should also be their recreation. Those meats ought to be sugred over, that are healthfull for childrens stomackes, and those made bitter that are hurtfull for them. It is strange to see how carefull Plato sheweth himselfe in framing of his lawes about the recreation and pastime of the youth of his Citie, and how far he extends himselfe about their exercises, sports, songs, leaping, and dancing, wherof he saith, that severe antiquitie gave the conduct and patronage unto the Gods themselves, namely, to Apollo, to the Muses, and to Minerva. Marke but how far-forth he endevoreth to give a thousand precepts to be kept in his places of exercises both of bodie and mind. As for learned Sciences, he stands not much upon them, and seemeth in particular to commend Poesie, but for Musickes sake. All strangenesse and self-particularitie in our manners and conditions, is to be shunned, as an enemie to societie and civill conversation.

Who would not be astonished at Demophons Need of complexion, chiefe steward of Alexanders cosmopohoushold, who was wont to sweat in the litanism shadow, and quiver for cold in the sunne? I have seene some to startle at the smell of an apple, more than at the shot of a peece; some to be frighted with a mouse, some readie to cast their gorge at the sight of a messe of creame, and others to be scared with seeing a fetherbed shaken: as Germanicus, who could not abide to see a cock, or heare his crowing. There may haply be some hidden propertie of nature, which in my judgement might easilie be removed, if it were taken in time. Institution hath gotten this upon me (I must confesse with much adoe) for, except beere, all things else that are mans food agree indifferently with my taste. The bodie being yet souple, ought to be accommodated to all fashions and customes; and (alwaies provided, his appetites and desires be kept under) let a yong man boldly be made fit for al Nations and companies; yea, if need be, for al disorders and surfetings; let him acquaint himselfe with al fashions; That he may be able to do al things, and love to do none but those that are commendable. Some strict Philosophers commend not, but rather blame Calisthenes, for losing the good favour of his Master Alexander, only because he would not pledge him as much as he had drunke to him. He shall laugh, jest, dally, and debauch himselfe with his Prince. And in his debauching, I would have him out-go al his fellowes in vigor and constancie, and

bility of manners

Flexi- that he omit not to doe evill, neither for want of strength or knowledge, but for lacke of will. Multum interest, utrum peccare quis nolit, aut nesciat: There is a great difference, whether one have no will, or no wit to doe amisse. thought to have honoured a gentleman (as great a stranger, and as far from such riotous disorders as any is in France) by enquiring of him in verie good companie, how many times in all his life he had bin drunke in Germanie, during the time of his abode there, about the necessarie affaires of our King; who tooke it even as I meant it, and answered three times, telling the time and manner how. I know some, who for want of that qualitie, have been much perplexed when they have had occasion to converse with that nation. I have often noted with great admiration, that wonderfull nature of Alcibiades, to see how easilie he could sute himselfe to so divers fashions, and different humors, without prejudice unto his health; sometimes exceeding the sumptuousnesse and pompe of the Persians, and now and then surpassing the austeritie and frugalitie of the Lacedemonians, as reformed in Sparta, as voluptuous in Ionia.

> Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res. -Hor. Epist. xvii. 23. All colours, states, and things are fit

For courtly Aristippus wit.

Such a one would I frame my Disciple,

-quem duplici panno patientia velat, Mirabor, vita via si conversa decebit, -- 25. Whom patience clothes with sutes of double kind, I muse, if he another way will find.

Personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque. - 29.

He not unfitly may, Both parts and persons play. Discipline of living well

Loe here my lessons, wherein he that acteth them, profiteth more, than he that but knoweth them, whom if you see, you heare, and if you heare him, you see him. God forbid, saith some bodie in Plato, that to Philosophize, be to learne many things, and to exercise the arts. Hanc amplissimam omnium artium bene vivendi disciplinam, vita magis quam litteris persequuti sunt (Cic. Tusc. Qu. iv.). This discipline of living well, which is the amplest of all other arts, they followed rather in their lives, than in their learning or writing. Leo Prince of the Phliasians, enquiring of Heraclides Ponticus, what art he professed, he answered, Sir, I professe neither art nor science; but I am a Philosopher. Some reproved Diogenes, that being an ignorant man, he did neverthelesse meddle with Philosophie, to whom he replied, so much the more reason have I, and to greater purpose doe I meddle with it. Hegesias praid him upon a time to reade some booke unto him; You are a merry man, said he: As you chuse naturall and not painted right and not counterfeit figges to eat, why doe you not likewise chuse, not the painted and written, but the true and naturall exercises? He shall not so much repeat, as act his lesson. In his actions shall he make repetition of the same. We must observe, "whether there bee wisdome in his enterprises, integritie in his demeanor, modestie in his jestures, justice

study

Action in his actions, judgement and grace in his speech, better courage in his sicknesse, moderation in his sports, than temperance in his pleasures, order in the government of his house, and indifferencie in his taste, whether it be flesh, fish, wine, or water, or whatsoever he feedeth upon." Qui disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientiæ, sed legem vitæ putet: quique obtemperet ipse sibi, et decretis pareat (Cic. ib. ii.). Who thinks his learning not an ostentation of knowledge, but a law of life, and himselfe obayes himselfe, and doth what is decreed.

> The true mirror of our discourses, is the course of our lives. Xeuxidamus answered one that demaunded of him, why the Lacedemonians did not draw into a booke, the ordinances of prowesse, that so their yong men might read them; it is, saith he, because they would rather accustome them to deeds and actions, than to bookes and writings. Compare at the end of fifteene or sixteene yeares one of these collegiall Latinizers, who hath imployed all that while onely in learning how to speake, to such a one as I meane. The world is nothing but babling and words, and I never saw man, that doth not rather speake more than he ought, than lesse. Notwithstanding halfe our age is consumed that way. We are kept foure or five yeares learning to understand bare words, and to joine them into clauses, then as long in proportioning a great bodie extended into foure or five parts; and five more at least ere we can succinctly know how to mingle, joine, and interlace them handsomly

into a subtil fashion, and into one coherent orbe. Gram-Let us leave it to those, whose profession is to marian doe nothing else. Being once on my journey toward Orleans, it was my chance to meet upon that plaine that lieth on this side Clery, with men two Masters of Arts, traveling toward Burdeaux, about fiftie paces, one from another, far off behind them, I descride a troupe of horsemen, their Master riding formost, who was the Earle of Rochefocault; one of my servants enquiring of the first of those Masters of arts, what Gentleman he was that followed him; supposing my servant had meant his fellow-scholler, for he had not yet seen the Earles traine, answered pleasantly, He is no gentleman, Sir, but a Gramarian, and I am a Logitian. Now, we that contrariwise seek not to frame a Gramarian, nor a Logitian, but a compleat gentleman, let us give them leave to mispend their time; we have else-where, and somewhat else of more import to doe. So that our Disciple be well and sufficiently stored with matter; words will follow apace, and if they will not follow gently, he shall hale them on perforce. I heare some excuse themselves, that they cannot expresse their meaning, and make a semblance that their heads are so full-stuft with many goodly things, but for want of eloquence they can neither utter nor make shew of them. It is a meere fopperie. And will you know what, in my seeming, the cause is? They are shadows and Chimeraes, proceeding of some formelesse conceptions, which they cannot distinguish or resolve

within, and by consequence are not able to pro-

and Logi-

words

Imagina- duce them, in asmuch as they understand not tion will themselves: And if you but marke their earnestnesse, and how they stammer and labour at the point of their deliverie, you would deeme, that what they go withall, is but a conceiving, and therefore nothing neere downelying; and that they doe but licke that imperfect and shapelesse lump of matter. As for me, I am of opinion, and Socrates would have it so, that he who hath a cleare and lively imagination in his mind, may easilie produce and utter the same, although it be in Bergamask, or Welsh, and if he be dumbe, by signes and tokens.

> Verbaque prævisam rem non invita sequentur. -Hor. Art. Poet. 311.

When matter we fore-know, Words voluntarie flow.

As one said, as poetically in his prose, Cùm res animum occupavere, verba ambiunt (SEN. Controv. vii. Proæ.). When matter hath possest their minds, they hunt after words: and another: Ipsæ res verba rapiunt. Things themselves will catch and carry words: He knowes neither Ablative, Conjunctive, Substantive, nor Gramar, no more doth his Lackey, nor any Oyster-wife about the streets, and yet if you have a mind to it, he will intertaine you your fill, and peradventure stumble as little and as seldome against the rules of his tongue, as the best Master of arts in France. He hath no skill in Rhetoricke, nor can he with a preface fore-stall and captivate the Gentle Readers good will: nor careth he greatly to

know it. In good sooth, all this garish painting Worth of is easilie defaced, by the lustre of an in-bred, brevity and simple truth; for these dainties and quaint devices, serve but to ammuse the vulgar sort; unapt and incapable to taste the most solid and firme meat: As Afer verie plainly declareth in Cornelius Tacitus. The Ambassadours of Samos being come to Cleomenes King of Sparta, prepared with a long prolix Oration, to stir him up to war against the tyrant Policrates, after he had listned a good while unto them, his answer was: Touching your Exordium or beginning I have forgotten it; the middle I remember not; and for your conclusion I will do nothing in it. A fit, and (to my thinking) a verie good answer; and the Orators were put to such a shift, as they knew not what to replie. And what said another? the Athenians from out two of their cunning Architects, were to chuse one to erect a notable great frame: the one of them more affected and selfe-presuming, presented himselfe before them, with a smooth fore-premeditated discourse, about the subject of that piece of worke, and thereby drew the judgements of the common people unto his liking; but the other in few words, spake thus: Lords of Athens, what this man hath said, I will performe. In the greatest earnestnesse of Ciceroes eloquence many were drawn into a kind of admiration; But Cato jesting at it, said, Have we not a pleasant Consull? A quicke cunning Argument, and a wittie saying, whether it go before, or come after, it is never out of season. If it have no coherence

The with that which goeth before, nor with what comedy commeth after; it is good and commendable in of Menander it selfe. I am none of those that thinke a good Ryme, to make a good Poeme; let him hardly (if so he please) make a short syllable long, it is no great matter: if the invention be rare and good, and his wit and judgement have cunningly played their part. I will say to such a one;

he is a good Poet, but an ill Versifier.

Emunctæ naris, durus componere versus.

—Hor. i. Sat. iv. 8. Lucil.

A man whose sense could finely pierce, But harsh and hard to make a verse.

Let a man (saith *Horace*) make his worke loose all seames, measures, and joynts.

Tempora certa modósque, et quod prius ordine verbum est, Posterius facias, præponens ultima primis: Invenias etiam disjecti membra Poetæ.—58,62.

Set times and moods, make you the first word last, The last word first, as if they were new cast: Yet find th' unjoynted Poets joints stand fast.

He shall for all that, nothing gain-say himselfe, every piece will make a good shew. To this purpose answered *Menander* those that chid him, the day being at hand, in which he had promised a Comedy, and had not begun the same, *Tut-tut*, said he, it is alreadie finished, there wanteth nothing but to adde the verse unto it: for, having ranged and cast the plot in his mind, he made small accompt of feet, of measures, or cadences of verses, which indeed are but of small

import in regard of the rest. Since great Logical Ronzarde and learned Bellay, have raised our quiddities French Poesie unto that height of honour, where it now is: I see not one of these petty-balladmakers, or prentise-dogrell rymers, that doth not bumbast his labours with high-swelling and heaven-disimbowelling words, and that doth not marshall his cadences verie neere as they doe. Plus sonat quam valet (SEN. Epist. xl.). The sound is more than the weight or worth. And for the vulgar sort, there were never so many Poets, and so few good: but as it hath been easie for them to represent their rymes, so come they far short in imitating the rich descriptions of the one, and rare inventions of the other. But what shall he doe, if he be urged with sophisticall subtilties about a Sillogisme? A gammon of Bacon makes a man drink, drinking quencheth a mans thirst, Ergo, a gammon of bacon quencheth a mans thirst. Let him mock at it, it is more wittie to be mockt at, than to be answered. Let him borrow this pleasant counter-craft of Aristippus; Why shall I unbind that, which being bound doth so much trouble me? Some one proposed certaine Logicall quiddities against Cleanthes, to whom Chrisippus said; use such jugling tricks to play with children, and divert not the serious thoughts of an aged man to such idle matters. If such foolish wiles, Contorta et aculeata sophismata (Cic. Acad. Qu. iv.), Intricate and stinged sophismes, must perswade a lie, it is dangerous; but if they proove void of any effect, and move him but to laughter, I see not

taigne affected speech

Mon- why he shall beware of them. Some there are so foolish that will go a quarter of a mile out of the way to hunt after a quaint new word, if they once get in chace; Aut qui non verba rebus aptant, sed res extrinsecus arcessunt, quibus verba conveniant. Or such as fit not words to matter, but fetch matter from abroad, whereto words be fitted. And another, Qui alicuius verbi decore placentis, vocentur ad id quod non proposuerunt scribere (Sen. Epist. lix.). Who are allured by the grace of some pleasing word, to write that they intended not to write. I doe more willingly winde up a wittie notable sentence, that so I may sew it upon me, than unwinde my thread to go fetch it. Contrariwise, it is for words to serve and wait upon the matter, and not for matter to attend upon words, and if the French tongue cannot reach unto it, let the Gaskonie, or any other. I would have the matters to surmount, and so fill the imagination of him that harkneth, that he have no remembrance at all of the words. It is a naturall, simple, and unaffected speech that I love, so written as it is spoken, and such upon the paper, as it is in the mouth, a pithie, sinnowie, full, strong, compendious and materiall speech, not so delicate and affected, as vehement and piercing.

> Hæc demum sapiet dictio, quæ feriet. -Epitaph. Lucan. 6.

> In fine, that word is wisely fit, Which strikes the fence, the marke doth hit.

Rather difficult than tedious, void of affection,

free, loose and bold, that every member of it seeme All manto make a bodie; not Pedanticall, nor Frier-like, ner of nor Lawyer-like, but rather downe right, Souldier- affectalike. As Suetonius calleth that of Julius Casar, seemly which I see no reason wherefore he calleth it. I have sometimes pleased my selfe in imitating that licenciousnesse or wanton humour of our youths, in wearing of their garments; as carelesly to let their cloaks hang downe over one shoulder; to weare their cloakes scarfe or bawdrikewise, and their stockings loose hanging about their legs. It represents a kind of disdainfull fiercenesse of these forraine embellishings, and neglect carelesnesse of art: But I commend it more being imployed in the course and forme of speech. All manner of affectation, namely in the livelinesse and libertie of France, is unseemely in a Courtier. And in a Monarchie every Gentleman ought to addresse himselfe unto a Courtiers carriage. Therefore do we well somewhat to incline to a native and carelesse behaviour. I like not a contexture, where the seames and pieces may be seene: As in a well compact bodie, what need a man distinguish and number all the bones and veines severally? Qua veritati operam dat oratio, incomposita sit et simplex. Quis accurate loquitur, nisi qui vult putide loqui? (Sen. Epist. xl. m. lxxv. p.). The speach that intendeth truth must be plaine and unpollisht: Who speaketh elaborately, but he that meanes to speake unsavouredly? That eloquence offereth injurie unto things, which altogether drawes us to observe it. As in apparell, it is a signe of pusillanimitie

Speech for one to marke himselfe, in some particular easily and unusuall fashion: so likewise in common speech, for one to hunt after new phrases, and unaccustomed - quaint words, proceedeth of a scholasticall and childish ambition. Let me use none other than are spoken in the hals of Paris. Aristophanes the Gramarian was somewhat out of the way, when he reproved Epicurus, for the simplicitie of his words, and the end of his art oratorie, which was onely perspicuitie in speech. The imitation of speach, by reason of the facilitie of it, followeth presently a whole nation. The imitation of judging and inventing, comes more slow. The greater number of Readers, because they have found one selfe-same kind of gowne, suppose most falsly to holde one like bodie. Outward garments and cloakes may be borrowed, but never the sinews and strength of the bodie. Most of those that converse with me. speake like unto these Essayes; but I know not whether they thinke alike. The Athenians (as Plato averreth) have for their part great care to be fluent and eloquent in their speech; The Lacedemonians endevour to be short and compendious; And those of Creet labour more to bee plentifull in conceits, than in language. And these are the best. Zeno was wont to say, That he had two sorts of disciples; the one he called φιλολόγους, curious to learne things, and those were his darlings, the other he termed λογοφίλους, who respected nothing more than the language. Yet can no man say, but that to speake well, is most gracious and commendable,

but not so excellent as some make it: and I am The exgrieved to see how we imploy most part of our pedient time about that onely. I would first know mine of Montaigne's owne tongue perfectly, then my neighbours father with whom I have most commerce. needs acknowledge, that the Greeke and Latine tongues, are great ornaments in a Gentleman, but they are purchased at over-high a rate. Use it who list, I will tell you how they may be gotten better cheape, and much sooner than is ordinarily used, which was tried in my selfe. My late father, having by all the meanes and industrie, that is possible for man, sought amongst the wisest, and men of best understanding, to find a most exquisite and readie way of teaching, being advised of the inconveniences then in use; was given to understand, that the lingring while, and best part of our youth, that we imploy in learning the tongues, which cost them nothing, is the onely cause we can never attaine to that absolute perfection of skill and knowledge, of the Greekes, and Romanes. I doe not beleeve that to be the onely cause. But so it is, the expedient my father found out, was this; that being yet at nurse, and before the first loosing of my tongue, I was delivered to a Germane (who died since, a most excellent Physitian in France) he being then altogether ignorant of the French tongue, but exquisitely readie and skilfull in the Latine. This man, whom my Father had sent for of purpose, and to whom he gave verie great entertainment, had me continually in his armes, and was mine onely overseer. There were also

Mon- joyned unto him two of his countrimen, but not taigne's so learned; whose charge was to attend, and now and then, to play with me; and all these together did never entertaine me with other than the Latine tongue. As for others of his houshold, it was an inviolable rule, that neither himselfe, nor my mother, nor man, nor maid-servant, were suffered to speake one word in my companie, except such Latine words, as every one had learned to chat and prattle with me. were strange to tell how every one in the house profited therein. My Father and my Mother learned so much Latine, that for a need they could understand it, when they heard it spoken, even so did all the houshold servants, namely such as were neerest and most about me. To be short, we were all so Latinized, that the townes round about us had their share of it; insomuch as even at this day, many Latine names both of workmen and of their tooles, are yet in use among them. And as for my selfe, I was about six yeares old, and could understand no more French or Perigordine, than Arabike, and that without art, without bookes, rules, or grammer, without whipping or whining. I had gotten as pure a Latine tongue as my Master could speake; the rather because I could neither mingle or confound the same with other tongues. If for an Essay they would give me a Theme, whereas the fashion in Colleges is, to give it in French, I had it in bad Latine, to reduce the same into good. And Nicholas Grucchi, who hath written, De comitiis Roman-

orum, William Guerenti, who hath commented and Aristotele: Georg Buchanan, that famous Scottish Greek Poet, and Marke-Antonie Muret, whom (while he lived) both France and Italie to this day, acknowledge to have been the best Orator: all which have beene my familiar tutors, have often told me, that in mine infancie I had the Latine tongue so readie and so perfect, that themselves feared to take me in hand. And Buchanan, who afterward I saw attending on the Marshall of Brissacke, told me, he was about to write a treatise of the institution of children, and that he tooke the model and patterne from mine: for, at that time he had the charge and bringing up of the young Earle of Brissack, whom since we have seene prove so worthy and so valiant a Captaine. As for the Greeke, wherein I have but small understanding, my father purposed to make me learne it by art; But by new and uncustomed meanes, that is, by way of recreation and exercise. We did tosse our declinations, and conjugations to and fro, as they doe, who by way of a certaine game at tables learne both Arithmetike and Geometrie. For, amongst other things he had especially beene perswaded to make me taste and apprehend the fruits of dutie and science by an unforced kinde of will, and of mine owne choice; and without any compulsion or rigor to bring me up in all mildnesse and libertie: yea with such kinde of superstition, that, whereas some are of opinion, that suddenly to awaken young children, and as it were by violence to startle and fright them out of their

awakened in

Mon- dead sleepe in a morning (wherein they are more taigne heavie and deeper plunged than we) doth greatly trouble and distemper their braines, he would youth by every morning cause me to be awakened by the sound of some instrument; and I was never without a servant; Who to that purpose attended This example may serve to judge of the rest; as also to commend the judgement and tender affection of so carefull and loving a father: who is not to be blamed, though hee reaped not the fruits answerable to his exquisite toyle, and painefull manuring. Two things hindered the same; first the barrennesse and unfit soyle: for howbeit I were of a sound and strong constitution, and of a tractable and yeelding condition, yet was I so heavie, so sluggish, and so dull, that I could not be rouzed (yea were it to goe to play) from out mine idle drowzinesse. What I saw, I saw it perfectly; and under this heavy, and as it were Lethe-complexion did I breed hardie imaginations, and opinions farre above my yeares. My spirit was very slow, and would goe no further than it was led by others; my apprehension blockish, my invention poore; and besides, I had a marvelous defect in my weake memorie: it is therefore no wonder, if my father could never bring me to any perfection. Secondly, as those that in some dangerous sicknesse, moved with a kind of hope-full and greedie desire of perfect health againe, give eare to every Leach or Emperike, and follow all counsels, the good man being exceedingly fearefull to commit any

oversight, in a matter he tooke so to heart, Monsuffered himselfe at last to be led away by the taigne at common opinion, which like unto the Cranes, college followeth ever those that go before, and yeelded to custome: Having those no longer about him, that had given him his first directions, and which they had brought out of Italie. Being but six yeares old I was sent to the College of Guienne, then most flourishing and reputed the best in France, where it is impossible to adde any thing to the great care he had, both to chuse the best and most sufficient Masters, that could be found, to reade unto me, as also for all other circumstances partaining to my education; wherein contrary to usuall customes of Colleges, he observed many particular rules. But so it is, it was ever a College. My Latin tongue was forthwith corrupted, whereof by reason of discontinuance, I afterward lost all manner of use: which new kind of institution, stood me in no other stead, but that at my first admittance, it made me to over-skip some of the lower formes, and to be placed in the highest. For at thirteene yeares of age, that I left the College, I had read over the whole course of Philosophie (as they call it) but with so small profit, that I can now make no account of it. The first taste or feeling I had of bookes, was of the pleasure I tooke in reading the fables of Ovids Metamorphosies; for, being but seven or eight yeares old, I would steale and sequester my selfe from all other delights, only to reade them: Forsomuch as the tongue wherein they were written

to Romances

Classics was to me naturall; and it was the easiest booke preferred I knew, and by reason of the matter therein contained most agreeing with my young age. For of King Arthur, of Lancelot du Lake, of Amadis, of Huon of Burdeaux, and such idle time consuming, and wit - besotting trash of bookes wherein youth doth commonly ammuse it selfe, I was not so much as acquainted with their names, and to this day know not their bodies, nor what they containe: So exact was my discipline. Whereby I became more carelesse to studie my other prescript lessons. And well did it fall out for my purpose, that I had to deale with a very discreet Master, who out of his judgement could with such dexteritie winke at, and second my untowardlinesse, and such other faults that were in me. For by that meanes, I read over Virgils Eneados, Terence, Plautus, and other Italian Comedies, allured thereunto by the pleasantnesse of their severall subjects: Had he beene so foolishly-severe, or so severely froward as to crosse this course of mine, I think verily I had never brought any thing from the College, but the hate and contempt of Bookes, as doth the greatest part of our Nobilitie. Such was his discretion, and so warily did he behave himselfe, that he saw and would not see: hee would foster and increase my longing: suffering me but by stealth, and by snatches to glut my selfe with those Bookes; holding ever a gentle hand over me, concerning other regular studies. For, the chiefest thing my father required at their hands (unto whose

charge he had committed me) was a kinde of Expectawell conditioned mildenesse, and facilitie of tions and complexion. And, to say truth, mine had no suspiother fault, but a certaine dull languishing, and heavie slothfulnesse. The danger was not, I should doe ill, but that I should doe nothing.

No man did ever suspect, I would prove a bad, but an unprofitable man: foreseeing in me rather a kind of idlenesse, than a voluntary craftinesse. I am not so selfe-conceited but I perceive what hath followed. The complaints that are daily buzzed in mine eares are these; that I am idle, cold, and negligent in offices of friendship, and dutie to my parents, and kinsfolkes; and touching publike offices, that I am over singular and disdainfull. And those that are most injurious cannot aske, wherefore I have taken, and why I have not paied? but may rather demand, why I doe not quit, and wherefore I doe not give? I would take it as a favour, they should wish such effects of supererogation in me. But they are unjust and over partiall, that will goe about to exact that from me, which I owe not, with more rigor than they will exact from themselves that which they owe; wherein if they condemne me, they utterly cancell both the gratifying of the action, and the gratitude, which thereby would be due to me. Whereas the active well doing should be of more consequence, proceeding from my hand, in regard I have no passive at all. Wherefore I may so much the more freely dispose of my fortune, by how much more it is mine, and of my selfe that

and early

Gentle am most mine owne. Notwithstanding, if I manners were a great blazoner of mine owne actions, I might peradventure barre such reproches, and acting justly upbraid some, that they are not so much offended, because I doe not enough, as for that I may, and it lies in my power to doe much more than I doe. Yet my minde ceased not at the same time to have peculiar unto it selfe well setled motions, true and open judgements concerning the objects which it knew; which alone, and without any helpe or communication it would digest. And amongst other things I verily beleeve, it would have proved altogether incapable and unfit to yeeld unto force, or stoope unto violence. Shall I account or relate this qualitie of my infancie, which was, a kinde of boldnesse in my lookes, and gentle softnesse in my voice, and affabilitie in my gestures, and a dexteritie in conforming my selfe to the parts I undertooke? for before the age of the

> Alter ab undecimo tum me vix ceperat annus: -VIRG. Buc. Ecl. viii. 39.

Yeares had I (to make even.) Scarse two above eleven.

I have under-gone and represented the chiefest parts in the Latin Tragedies of Buchanan, Guerenti, and of Muret; which in great state were acted and plaid in our College of Guienne: wherein Andreas Goveanus our Rector principall; who as in all other parts belonging to his charge, was without comparison the chiefest Rector of France, and my selfe (without ostentation be it spoken) was reputed, if not a chiefe The master, yet a principall Actor in them. It is stage an exercise I rather commend than disalow in conyoung Gentlemen: and have seene some of our honour-Princes (in imitation of some of former ages) able both commendably and honestly, in their proper persons act and play some parts in Tragedies. It hath heretofore been esteemed a lawfull exercise, and a tolerable profession in men of honor, namely in Greece. Aristoni tragico actori rem aperit: huic et genus et fortuna honesta erant: nec ars quia nihil tale apud Gracos pudori est, ea deformabat (Liv. dec. iii. 4). He imparts the matter to Ariston a Player of tragedies, whose progenie and fortune were both honest; nor did his profession disgrace them, because no such matter is a disparagement amongst the Gracians.

And I have ever accused them of impertinencie, that condemne and disalow such kindes of recreations, and blamed those of injustice, that refuse good and honest Comedians, or (as we call them) Players, to enter our good townes, and grudge the common people such publike sports. Politike and wel ordered commonwealths endevor rather carefully to unite and assemble their Citizens together; as in serious offices of devotion, so in honest exercises of recreation. Common societie and loving friendship is thereby cherished and increased. And besides, they cannot have more formall and regular pastimes allowed them, than such as are acted and represented in open view of all, and

in the presence of the magistrates themselves:

theatres

The And if I might beare sway, I would thinke it value of reasonable, that Princes should sometimes, at their proper charges, gratifie the common people with them, as an argument of a fatherly affection, and loving goodnesse towards them: and that in populous and frequented cities, there should be Theatres and places appointed for such spectacles; as a diverting of worse inconveniences, and secret actions. But to come to my intended purpose, there is no better way than to allure the affection, and to entice the appetite: otherwise a man shall breed but asses laden with Bookes. With jerkes of rods they have their satchels full of learning given them to keepe. Which to doe well, one must not only harbor in himselfe, but wed and mary the same with his minde.

CHAP. XXVI

It is follie to referre Truth or Falshood to our sufficiencie

I T is not peradventure without reason, that we ascribe the facilitie of beleeving and easines of perswasion, unto simplicitie and ignorance: For me seemeth to have learnt heretofore, that beliefe was, as it were an impression conceived in our minde, and according as the same was found either more soft, or of lesse resistance, it was easier to imprint any thing therein.

necesse est lancem in libra ponderibus impositis Not all deprimi : sic animum perspicuis cedere (Cic. Acad. Qu. iv.). As it is necessarie a scale must goe downe seeming the ballance when weights are put into it, so must a minde yeeld to things that are manifest. Forasmuch therefore, as the minde being most emptie and without counterpoize, so much the more easily doth it yeeld under the burthen of the first perswasion. And that's the reason why children, those of the common sort, women, and sickefolks, are so subject to be mis-led, and so easie to swallow gudgeons. Yet on the other side it is a sottish presumption to disdaine and condemne that for false, which unto us seemeth to beare no shew of likelihood or truth: which is an ordinarie fault in those who perswade themselves to be of more sufficiency than the vulgar sort. So was I sometimes wont to doe, and if I heard any body speake, either of ghosts walking, of foretelling future things, of enchantments, of witchcrafts, or any other thing reported, which I could not well conceive, or that was beyond my reach.

falsethings are false

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas, Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Thessali. -Hor. ii. Ep. ii. 208.

Dreames, magike terrors, witches, uncouthwonders, Night-walking sprites, Thessalian conjur'dthunders.

I could not but feele a kinde of compassion to see the poore and seely people abused with VOL. I.

We do not know all things

such follies. And now I perceive, that I was as much to be moaned myselfe: Not that experience hath since made me to dicerne any thing beyond my former opinions: yet was not my curiositie the cause of it, but reason hath taught me, that so resolutely to condemne a thing for false, and impossible, is to assume unto himselfe the advantage, to have the bounds and limits of Gods will, and of the power of our common mother Nature tied to his sleeve: And that there is no greater folly in the world, than to reduce them to the measure of our capacitie, and bounds of our sufficiencie. If we terme those things monsters or miracles to which our reason cannot attaine, how many such doe daily present themselves unto our sight? Let us consider through what clouds, and how blinde-fold we are led to the knowledge of most things, that passe our hands: verily we shall finde, it is rather custome, than science that removeth the strangenesse of them from us:

—jam nemo fessus saturusque videndi, Suspicere in cæli dignatur lucida templa.—Lucr. ii. Now no man tir'd with glut of contemplation, Deignes to have heav'ns bright Church in admiration.

And that those things, were they newly presented unto us, wee should doubtlesse deeme them, as much, or more unlikely, and incredible, than any other.

—si nunc primùm mortalibus adsint Ex improviso, ceu sint objecta, repentè, Nil magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici, Aut minus antè quod auderent fore credere gentes.

-1042.

If now first on a sudden they were here Mongst mortall men, object to eie or eare, Nothing, than these things, would more wondrous bee,

Or that, men durst lesse thinke, ever to see.

The evidence of the eyes

He who had never seene a river before, the first he saw, he thought it to be the Ocean: and things that are the greatest in our knowledge, we judge them to be the extremest that nature worketh in that kinde.

Scilicet et stuvius qui non est maximus, ei est Qui non antè aliquem majorem vidit, et ingens Arbor homoque videtur, et omnia de genere omni Maxima quæ vidit quisque, hæc ingentia singit. —vi. 671.

A streame none of the greatest, may so seeme To him, that never saw a greater streame. Trees, men, seeme huge, and all things of all sorts,

The greatest one hath seene, he huge reports.

Consuetudine oculorum assuescunt animi, neque admirantur, neque requirunt rationes earum rerum, quas semper vident (Cic. Nat. De. ii.). Mindes are acquainted by custome of their eies, nor do they admire, or enquire the reason of those things which they continually behold. The novelty of things doth more incite us to search out the causes, than their greatnesse: we must judge of this infinit power of nature, with more reverence, and with more acknowledgement of our owne ignorance and weaknesse. How many things of small likelihood are there, witnessed by men, worthie of credit, whereof if we cannot be per-

Ne quid swaded, we should at least leave them in susnimis pence? For, to deeme them impossible, is by rash presumption to presume and know how farre possibilitie reacheth. If a man did well understand, what difference there is betweene impossibilitie, and that which is unwonted, and betweene that which is against the course of nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleeving rashly, and in not disbeleeving easily; the rule of Nothing too-much, commanded by Chilon, should be observed. When we finde in Froysard, that the Earl of Foix, (being in Bearne) had knowledge of the defeature at Inberoth, of King John of Castile, the morrow next it hapned, and the meanes he alleageth for it, a man may well laugh at it: And of that which our Annales report, that Pope Honorius, the very same day that King Philip Augustus died at Mantes, caused his publike funerals to be solemnized, and commanded them to be celebrated throughout all Italie. For, the authoritie of the witnesses hath peradventure no sufficient warrant to restraine us. But what if Plutarke, besides divers examples which he alleageth of antiquitie, saith to have certainly knowne, that in Domitians time, the newes of the battle lost by Antonius in Germany many daies journeies thence, was published at Rome, and divulged through the world, the very same day it succeeded: And if Casar holds, that it hath many times happened, that report hath foregone the accident: Shall we not say, that those simple people have suffered themselves to be cousened and seduced by

the vulgar sort, because they were not as cleare- Credible sighted as we? Is there any thing more daintie, and more unspotted, and more lively than Plinies incredible judgement, whensoever it pleaseth him to make shew of it? Is there any farther from vanitie? I omit the excellencie of his learning and knowledge, whereof I make but small reckoning: in which of those two parts doe we exceed him? Yet there is no scholler so meanely learned, but will convince him of lying, and read a lecture of contradiction against him upon the progresse of natures works. When wee read in Bouchet the myracles wrought by the reliques of Saint Hillarie, his credit is not sufficient to barre us the libertie of contradicting him: yet at randon to condemne all such like histories, seemeth to me a notable impudencie. That famous man Saint Augustine witnesseth to have seene a blinde childe to recover his sight, over the reliques of Saint Gervase and Protaise at Milane: and a woman at Carthage, to have beene cured of a canker, by the signe of the holy Crosse, which a woman newly baptized made unto her: and Hesperius a familiar friend of his, to have ex-

pelled certaine spirits, that molested his house, with a little of the earth of our Saviours sepulcher; which earth being afterwards transported into a Church, a Paralitike man was immediately therewith cured: and a woman going in procession, having as she past by with a nose-gaie toucht the case wherein Saint Stevens bones were, and with the same afterward rubbed her eies, she recovered her sight, which long before

histories

Difficul- she had utterly lost: and divers other examples, ties of where he affirmeth to have beene an assistant belief himselfe. What shal we accuse him of, and two other holy Bishops, Aurelius and Maximinus, whom he calleth for his witnesses? Shal it be of ignorance, of simplicity, of malice, of facility, or of imposture? Is any man living so impudent, that thinks he may be compared to them, whether it be in vertue or piety, in knowledge or judgement, in wisdome or sufficiency? Qui ut rationem nullam afferrent, ipsa authoritate me frangerent (Cic. Div. i.): Who though they alleaged no reason, yet might subdue me with their very authoritie. It is a dangerous fond hardinesse, and of consequence, besides the absurd temerity it drawes with it, to despise what we conceive not. For, after that according to your best understanding, you have established the limits of truth, and bounds of falshood, and that it is found, you must necessarily beleeve things, wherein is more strangenesse, than in those you deny; you have alreadie bound your selfe to abandon them. Now that which me thinkes brings as much disorder in our consciences, namely in these troubles of religion wherein we are, is the dispensation Catholikes make of their beliefe. They suppose to shew themselves very moderate and skilfull, when they yeeld their adversaries any of those articles now in question. But besides that, they perceive not what an advantage it is for him that chargeth you, if you but once begin to yeeld and give them ground; and how much that encorageth

him to pursue his point: those articles which Glory they chuse for the lightest, are oftentimes most and important. Either a man must wholy submit curiosity himselfe to the authoritie of our Ecclesiasticall policie, or altogether dispence himselfe from it: It is not for us to determine what part of obedience we owe unto it. And moreover, I may say it, because I have made triall of it, having sometimes used this libertie of my choice, and particular election, not regarding certaine points of the observance of our Church, which seeme to beare a face, either more vaine, or more strange; comming to communicate them with wise men, I have found that those things have a most solid and steadie foundation, and that it is but foolishnesse and ignorance, makes us receive them with lesse respect and reverence than the rest. Why remember we not, what, and how many contradictions we finde and feele even in our owne judgement? How many things served us but yesterday as articles of faith, which to day we deeme but fables? Glory and curiositie are the scourges of our soules. The latter induceth us to have an oare in every ship, and the former forbids us to leave any thing unresolved or undecided.

are our scourges

END OF VOL. I.

There was a kind of fascination, an actually aesthetic beauty, in the spectacle of that keen-edged intelligence, dividing evidence so finely, like some exquisite steel instrument with impeccable sufficiency, always leaving the last word loyally to the central intellectual faculty, in an entire disinterestedness.

WALTER PATER: Gaston de Latour.

From the chapter entitled 'Suspended Judgment,' in which Pater sums up the philosophy of Montaigne. The present issue of Florio's translation of "Montaigne's Essays" has been edited by Mr. A. R. Waller, who has revised the text, and added the Marginalia, Glossary, and Notes.

The Third Folio (1632) has been taken as the basis of the edition, but the French original and the earlier English editions have been carefully collated, and an attempt has been made in the direction of a critical text.

The accompanying Notes indicate, somewhat at least, the editor's critical treatment of the oft-reprinted 1632 edition. The accumulated errors due to careless printers and editors have, it is hoped, been eliminated from Florio's text as now put forth.

I. G.

St. Valentine's Day, 1897.

His Essays are among the few works that really and literally make life more opulent with accumulated experience, criticism, reflection, humour. He gives of his rich nature, his lavish exuberance of character, out of that fresh and puissant century to this rather neary one. . . . He has at bottom the intense melancholy, the looking forward to the end of all, which is the ground-note of the poetry of Villon, and of Ronsard, as of the prose of Chateaubriand.

He is one of the last authors whom modern taste learns to appreciate. He is a man's author, not a woman's; a tired man's, not a fresh man's. We all come to him late indeed, but at last, and rest in his panelled library.

Andrew Lang: Lost Leaders.

NOTES

Portrait.—Etched for the present issue by Mr. H. Crickmore, after the portrait in oils preserved in the Chateau de Montaigne. The signature is a copy of that affixed to Montaigne's marriage certificate.

Contents.—The titles of the chapters given in the Table differ slightly from those given at the head of the respective chapters. They so differ in the Folios; and the spelling throughout is, of course, inconsistent: e.g., Falsehood, p. vi., appears as Falsehood in the 1st Folio, as Falshood in the 2nd, and (probably a misprint) as Falshood in the 3rd.

Florio's Prefaces, etc., and the Index that was added to the 3rd
Folio, will be found in the Appendix to vol. vi.
of the present edition, together with a Table of

Dates and Bibliographical Notes, etc.

Texts.—The three Folios of Florio are indicated in the Notes thus: A = 1603; B = 1613; C = 1632. For the sake of brevity, M = Montaigne.

Quotations.—The text and references are given as in C, save that a few trifling misprints have been corrected. The references often vary from those given in French texts of Montaigne, and the numbering of the lines, etc., sometimes differs from that of the best modern classical texts. It should also be borne in mind that Montaigne himself occasionally altered words in his quotations. The translations of the quotations are Florio's.

Page

2. prostrating . . . slaughter, abandoned to slaughter.

4. absolved and quit, etc., pardoned Pelopidas but grudg-

ingly . . . although he yielded, etc.

 take their lots, i.e., balls or voting papers. Read on, "in hand, but broke up the assembly, much commending," etc.

6. noting, A and B; nothing, C.

7. to yeeld, and, however stricken with wounds.
7. remaining bloud, blood capable of being shed.

9. qualitie and interest, qualitie of interest.

9. By misery: By, A and B; But, C.

12. power of . . . and slight, A and B; omitted in C. 14. sage, the ideal "wise man"; age, in A, B, and C.

15. as theirs, as their memory; i.e., that no distinction is made between the remembrance of the good and bad.

 and . . . order, let us grant so much to political government.

16. Helotes, Ilotes, A; Heotes, B and C.

16. in order, to rank.

17. body, A and B; omitted in C.

17. of those, from those; i.e., through Veronese territory.

18. posterity, ashes; "reliques," M.

18. After "carry them about him" add "with his army."

18. opinions; "erreurs," M.

24. punished him, punished them . . . made them.

30. the appointed, having appointed the.

31. After "as a law" add "if their enemies do not yield and come to an agreement."

32. shelter of blowes, shelter from blows. 33. subvert the same, bury the besieged.

33. unto . . troup, to whose discretion he had yeelded, etc.

34. to trust . . . armie, to intrust to the licence of a victorious army the keeping of faith that a man has given to a city which has surrendered upon easy and favourable terms, and to permit the free entrance of soldiers, in the heat of blood.

35. l. 20. Omit "For."

35. l. 22. Omit "from him." This should be a fresh paragraph.

36. yeeld unto the measure of his dispensation, agree with the licence he allows.

38. After "Suffolke" add "of the White Rose."

39. establish, remedy.

40. heinous conceit or affection, malevolent feeling (omit "and affection" in the next line).

 extending life, extending the life of it; i.e., making their hatred live longer than themselves.

40-41. As we . . . imagination. The quotation marks are not in M.

41. upraised, A; unpraised, B and C.

42. now, henceforth.

43. From . . . memorie, they take away from my affection because of my memory.

44 worldly, A; wordly, B and C.

45. After "sing" add "three times in his ear."

46. contrarie, M; certaine, A, B, and C.

 Verily . . . crime. The quotation marks are not in M.
 The quotation is from a poem by Estienne de la Boëtie, M.'s great friend.

51. according to the advantage of, which are most proper for.

54. sound, A; second, B and C.

56. to doe it, i.e., to change sides.

57. which long . . . defended, after a long struggle and defence.

 And . . . wrong, And, on the contrary, those who believe this word [which follows] are in the wrong.

60. Omit "mentioned in."

61. impulsion of will, A; or will, B and C.

 Add "but what" before "we doe against our conscience."

71. last line, who. The antecedent is the Emperor Julian.

73. forsooke, A and B; fosooke, C.

73. Casar displaieth his invention at large, i.e., discourses at length.

74. to glosse and censure, to comment rudely and magisterially.

74. After "I beleeve them" add "more willingly."

76. whereof . . . something, and it seemed that he really believed this somewhat.

77. The sentence should end at "businesse."

80. which . . . fields, i.e., he had fled into the country for three hundred paces from the hole in the wall.

80. passion or rage, A; passion rage, B and C.

81. She casts . . . duty and honor, i.e., Fear throws us back on the energy of despair after having seduced us from all sense of duty and honour.

82. which is beyond the error of our discourse, "that is to say, which is not caused by an error of our judgment."

--- Coste.

83. told him, i.e., Crosus gave him to understand.

84. the fairest Queene, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.

87. I have seene . . . aspired. M. is doubtless speaking of his friend Estienne de la Boëtie, who died in 1563.

87. with a, of a.

87. thought . . . them, had nothing so high as their interruption; i.e., the cessation of his life was even more supreme than its continuance.

88. Allthough they say, etc., Whatever they may say, the chief thing at which we aim, even in virtue, is pleasure.

89. sacietie (= satiety), printed societie in A, B, and C.

89. ennoble, A; ennobled, B and C.

89. mediates, A; meditates, B and C.

90. perceived . . . qualitie, felt to be of the quality.

92. with what . . . endure him, how they [paine and feare] sap his judgment and render him unfit to make his will.

93. long since thou livest, thou hast lived for a long time.

94. Pope Clement V. was the neighbour, previously Archbishop of Bordeaux. The sentence should mean, "as whilome he [i.e., the Duke] was, at the entry of my neighbour, Pope Clement, into Lyons."

95. Platonian, A; Plantonian, B and C.

95. his last, i.e., his last day.

97. Prop., A; Propat, B and C.

97. begin to take, A and B; being to take, C. 100. Add "very vigorously" after "enjoied."

101. his children, his son.

- 101. shake. A, B, and C have "spake," but M. has "desprint," and therefore the sense is "shake off, lose hold of."
- 104. The sentence ends at divers deaths. Read on, "He who would teach men to die would teach them to live."

104. is it nothing, A and B; it is nothing, C.

104. lesse undanted, less terrified.

105. sight, A; night, B and C.

106. stooping, A and B; stopping, C.

106. The passage in brackets should properly come after the words "she may boast."

106. indulgence, indigence.

107. there is no more, is there no more.

108-114. The whole passage, from "Depart (saith she,)" to "only the last comes to it" (and not merely the beginning and ending lines put by F. in italic), is in quotation marks in M., as being a summary of the precepts of Nature. The sentence of Thales, therefore, on p. 114, ends with the word "indifferent."

109. you steale it from death, from life.

111. So may you live long enough, however long you may live.

111. please, place.

113. ending, avoiding.

116. holy, healthy; "saines," M.

116. that she brings, i.e., imagination brings.

119-120. that did any . . . himselfe againe, that he had to be called, beaten, etc., until he came to himself again. "Qu'on avoit beau le tempester, et hurler, et le pincer, et le griller, jusques à ce qu'il feust ressuscité."-M.

120. After "as he least looked for it" add "finding himself similarly placed," and omit "and wrought him no

small shame."

123. caudle, B; candle, A and C. It was a French custom to bring a bridegroom a meal in the middle of the wedding night.

124. Pythagoras his neece, daughter-in-law.

125. apprehending . . . desperation of, being startled and in

despair because of.

126. gormandize . . . condemnation, rebuke sharply ["gourmander," M.] his rebellion, and draws proof therefrom for his condemnation.

127. After "to feed upon" add "and,"

127. After "Vives" add "his commentator."

127. inferreth, inferreth not.

130. a Gentlewoman, A; the Gentlewoman, B and C.

133. If I come, etc., i.e., If I do not use examples which belong exactly to the subject of which I treat, let another substitute those more suitable. - Coste.

133. insight, ignorance; inscience, M.

133. that it may well become a Divine, whether it may, etc.

133. their credit upon a popular reputation, their belief upon a popular belief; "leur foy sur une foy populaire," M.; "otherwise" is not in M.

135. Perhaps a colon after "everie where true" would make the sentence easier, and separate the work of others from the work of Plutarch himself.

136. After "a young calfe" add "from the hour of its birth."

137. quit their arts reason by authoritie, B and C; to her authoritie, A; submit the reasons of their art to her authority.

138. what our neighbours, etc., what is reported of the people who live near the Cataracts, etc.

138. that sound, i.e., of the Cataracts.

138. neere unto a tower, in a tower.

140. my wife or children, my wife and my daughter.

140. nor, A and B; not, C.

141. After "given him" add "for he earned his living by exhibiting himself."

143. stay himselfe upon the discourses, etc., settle down to reflection about his own examples; "se coucher sur les propres," M.

146. neighbouring people, people dependent upon the Prince

148. so that they pay ready money, for hire. 149. contemned, A; condemned, B and C.

151. mediation, A; meditation, B and C.

152. having ever bin from her beginning, searching always into its origin; "questant tousjours jusques à son origine," M.

153. After "sanctuarie of custome" add "there puffing

themselves out and triumphing their fill."

154. The sentence beginning "But according" would be clearer if "is very strange" were omitted at the end of it; this sentence is really the second clause of the one beginning "Not according."

on after "justice," without a break; there should be a break between "contrarie" and "do those."

158. disolved by it, i.e., by innovations.

158. After "enterprises" add "and that happens to us which Thucydides said of the civil wars of his time."

159 mysterie, administration.

163. by her lawes, at the expense of her laws.

163. ordained them, i.e., the laws.

164. maritime, A; maritine, B and C.

- you should but marre all, you would but make it worse for yourself.
- 166. The words "of your religion" are not in M.

168. Scipio, A; Cœpio, Scœpio, B and C.

174. contemne, A; condemne, B and C.

- 174. informe . . . of it, B and C; informe against him, A; "d'en informer," M.
- 174. heedy diffidence, B and C; heady defiance, A; "desfiance si attentifve," M.
 176. contrariwise. This refers to the sentence on the pre-
- 176. contrariwise. This refers to the sentence on the previous page beginning "A wisdome so tenderly precise."

177. requiring sute . . . demonstrative resolution, entreaty . . . remonstrance.

178-179. It was determined . . . profitable confidence. The meaning of Montaigne would seem to be that the place was unsafe for the officers reviewing, that these officers should show no fear, but mix boldly amongst the files of soldiers, and, instead of holding back fire, the minor captains should be ordered to see that the soldiers made fine salvoes, or volleys [not sallies], in honour of the assistants or spectators.

184. Grandfathers, forefathers.

185. beyond, beneath; in contradistinction to "beyond,"
p. 184, penult.

186. that serveth, that distinction serveth.

190. vilior, A, B, and C; mollior, M.

191. world, A and B; word, C.

193. Should live, A and B; Should live, C.

193. incivilized, civilized.

196. but those lesse, with the exception of those.

197. according to the fault of the vessel, if the vessel be faulty.

197. seeth, A; seeketh, B and C.

- 198. As soone . . . nothing. The quotation marks are not in M.
- 199. they must. . . and best, they must justify their decision; "il falloit raisonner leur dire," M.

199. Omit "not" before "only," A; not only, B and C.

205. After "a loofe-off" add "Saying, 'Yes, that is true."

208. I never spake, etc., I never quote from others save to express my own thoughts better.—Lefèvre.

209. greatest . . . knowledge, greatest and most important

difficulty of all human knowledge.

210. how they . . . knew them, B and C; how they have degenerated, and falne from themselves, and deceived, etc., A. "Combien ils se sont disconvenus à eulx mesmes," M.

211. The Torquato Tasso passage in square brackets is not in M.

215. taking his . . . by Plato, judging of his progress after the pedagogic method followed by Socrates in the dialogues of Plato.—Lefèvre.

215. The sentence in square brackets is not in M.

215. he held this infallible position, the most general of his dogmas was.

216. scholler, A and B; scholles, C.

216. followeth another . . . seeketh nothing, followeth another followeth nothing, findeth nothing, nay, seeketh nothing.

216. The phrase "Let him at least know that he knoweth" is M.'s, and should not be attached to the translation

of the quotation.

216. It is requisite... their precepts: He should imbibe their knowledge, not learn their precepts; i.e., the spirit, not the letter, is needful.

217. For "alwaies provided" read "that is to say"; a colon

is needed at "judgment."

19. "curtezan" is not in M.

221. enured, C; endured, A and B.

222. mischiefe and extortion, the whip and the halter; "d'escourgees et de la chorde," M.

229. see them, i.e., the intestine broils.

- 230. The semicolon should come after "imagined"; there should be no break between "circle" and "but."
- 232. bondage . . . libertie, servitude and subjection, licence and liberty.
- 232. most profitable, unprofitable; "trèsinutiles," M.

234. bite, A; bide, B and C.

240. some base occupation. M. specifically says "pastry-cook."

- 243. when all . . . answer, all thought he had reason in replying.
- 249-250. whether . . . upon. The quotation marks are not in M.
- 251. Read "the late Earle of Rochefocault."
- 255. But rehat shall he doe. M. now turns back to his subject, the young pupil.
- 260. to play with me, to relieve him; "soulager le premier," M.
- 263. and which they, whom he.
- 264. think, A and B; thing, C.
- 274. of simplicity, . . . of imposture. A closer following of M. would be "of simplicity, of facility; or of malice and imposture."

INDEX OF WORDS

In the case of words of frequent occurrence the first appearance is, as a rule, the only one given.

A = Florio, 1603; B = Florio, 1613; C = Florio, 1632; M = Montaigne.

Accoastings, approaches, 68. ACCOMMODATED AND LEFT, lent and abandoned, 156. Accord, armistice, 32, 34, 36; tune, Accords, harmony, 157; ACCOUNT, "make a.," reckon, be sure, 6. Accrease, increase, 101. ACQUAINTED WITH, used to, 138. ADVANTAGED, aided, 18. ADVERTISE, to inform, teach, warn, 12, etc. ADVISED, took counsel, 3; resolved, 63, 122; informed, 62, 259. ADVISEDNESS, circumspection, 75. AFFEARD, afraid, 91. AFFECTED TO, inclined towards, 3, 51, 104. AFFECTION, disturbance of spirit, 81. Affiance, trust, 176. Affirmed, "which Cæsar a.," as Cæsar says, 104. ALIAS, in the sense of "(living) at another time," 93. ALIKE, the same, 12, 258. ALLAYING, disguising, 15%. ALLEAGE, to quote, 14, etc. ALLIES, avenues, 237. ALLOWED, approved, 180. A LOOFE-OFF, at a distance, 205. AMPHIBOLOGIE, ambiguity, 200. ANATOMIE, dried "carkasse cut up" (Cotgrave), possibly a skeleton, 98. ANCIENT, ensign, colour-bearer, 69,

70; ensign, flag, 80.

ANY THING, in any way, 91. APPARENCE, appearance, show, 34, etc. Appose, examine, 204. APPRENTISAGE, beginning, 88, 158. ARGO-LETTIERS, horse soldiers of comparatively mean rank, 230. Assaies, "at all a.," at all points, 51. ASSAY, ASSAYED, try, tried, 2, etc. ASTERS, stars, 138. As THE KNOWLEDGE, that the k., 212. ASTONIE, astonish, 10, 12, 80. ASTONIED, horrified, 152. As well as, as much as, 113. Augur, omen, 139. AUTHORIZE, justify, 127. Avoweth, admitted, 62. AWFULL, reverential, 21. BACKE-RECOURSE, turning back, 55. BAG-PIPE, an oaten pipe or reed (M.

chalemie), 188. BALES, balls, 27. BANDIED, tossed, a term used in tennis, 70.

BAROCO AND BARALIPTON, terms of ancient scholastic logic" (Le Clerc), 236. BARRE, repel, 266; barre us, forbid

us, 273.

BAWDRIKEWISE, after the fashion of a belt or baldric that passed over one shoulder and round the opposite side, 257. Beareth, "the custome b.," it is the

custom, 31.

BEDRELL, bedridden, 93. BEING TO REPRESENT, having to r., 9. BERGAMASK, a province in the state of Venice, the inhabitants of which were reputed clownish in dialect,

252.

BESIDES, although, 186. BEWRAY, betray, 126.

BEYOND, above, 35.

BIRD-PROPHETS, augurs, 55. BLEARE US, dim our eyes, 152; bleare.

deceive, 207.

Bollein, Boulogne, 70.

Bonds, "these pleasant b." (nouements d'éguillettes, M.), knots tied at a wedding on strips of material, and when passed through the wedding ring thought to prevent the consummation of marriage until they were untied, 120.

BORNE MY FOE, my foe by birth, 168. BRADAMANT, OR ANGELICA, two hero-

ines of Ariosto, 238. BRAVING, taunting, 5. BRUTALL, brutish, 92.

BUMBAST, swell out, 255.

BUMBASTING, artificial padding, originally cotton used for stuffing, 228. BYASE, inclination, tendency, a term in bowls, 230, 232.

CAITIFE WRETCH, captive, 6. CANKER, cancer, 273. CANVASE, plead, discuss, 212. CARCANETS, head-gear, 238. CARIERE, career, course, running a charge, a tournament term, 42, 44,

52; race, life, 92. CARKE, trouble, anxiety, 107, 186. CARROLS, dances, 138. CARTELL, challenge, 28.

CATES, delicacies, dainties, 149. CAUTERIE, cauterization (A, costive-

nes), 221.

CELESTIALL MUSICKE, the supposed musical sound attending the rotation of the planets, a Pythagorean idea,

CHAFE, knit the brows, 235. CHARGE, "penitence ought to c.," requires penalty, 39; employment, 4, etc.; expense, 22, etc.

CHARGEABLY, heavily, 39.

CHARGING, upbraiding, 4. CHEAPE, "better c.," at an easier rate, 259.

CHIDE, make a loud noise, 110. CHIEFLY, absolutely, 77. CHIMERAES, wild schemes, 42, etc.

CHOCKE, violent charge, 94. CICATRICES, stigmata, 119. CIRCUMSTANCES, "without more c.,"

i.e. immediately, 50. CLEANE, complete, 44; completely,

COCKER, "to c.," to pamper, 220, 222.

COLOURABLE, specious, 49, etc. Combining, unity, 158.

COMMODITIE, advantage, benefit, viii. etc.

Competencie, agreement, sufferance (M. concurrence), 89.

COMPLEXION, "by his owne c.," naturally, 175; character, 200, etc. COMPLOT, negotiate, 75; conspiracy,

126, etc. COMPOSITION, arrangement, 34, etc.

Compulsion, constraint, 20. CONCEIT, belief, thought, idea, 26,

etc.; brains, 153. CON'D . . . ROAT, learned by heart,

CONDITIONS, qualities, attributes,

viii. etc. CONDOLED AND COMPLAINED, be-

wailed, 57. CONDUCT, arrangement, 209.

Conferreth, contributes, 114. CONFOUND, abate, unravel (M. rabattre), 200.

Consequence, "by c.," consequently, 45, etc. CONSTANCIE, strength, 143.

CONSTANTLY, tranquilly, 87.

Conster, construe, conjecture, 76,

Contention, effort, viii. CONTRACTION, convulsion, 65. CONTRIVING, making, viii. Convenient, suitable, necessary,

14, etc. CORPORALL OATH, an oath taker,

with the hand upon the corporal or cloth upon which the Sacred Elements of the Eucharist are placed,

134.

COSEN-GERMAN, akin, 21, 122, 191. COUNTERCOSIN, deceive, 125. COUNTERCRAFT, evasion, the answering of a fool according to his folly,

255.
COUNTERPOISE, equality, 69.
COUNTERVAILE, equal, 167.
COUSIN, cozen, to cheat, 139, etc.
COVER-FEW, curfew, 138.
COYFED, the head covered, 238.
CRAZED, broken down, 93, 100, 105.
CREDENCE, "letters of c.," i.e. credentials, 49; bonds, guarantees, 176.
CULVERIN, cannon of the 16th century, 64, 69.
CUNNING, learned, 199.

CUNNING, learned, 199. CUNNINGLY, skilfully, 204, 229. CURSORIE, CURSORILY, 75.

DEDUCTION, account, 49DEFEATE, evasion, 159DEMEANE, conduct, 87DEMISSE, humble, 4, 178DEMONS, spirits, 145DEMOURETH, adjourned, 95DENOUNCED, proclaimed, 31DESCANT, vary, 215DEVICES, M. nouvelletes, a legal term
meaning interruptions; "a new, or
late interruption, or impeachment of
possession" (Cotgrave); A and B,

devises; 223.

DEVOIRE, duty, 227.

DILATE, expand, 10, 93.

DINT, point, edge, 2.

DISARMED, uncovered, the armour taken off, 10.

DISCOURSE, reason, judgment, 13, etc.

DISCOURSE, reveal, show, 49, 137, 208.

DISCRETION, "by d.," at will, 59, 67.

DISMALL, mortal, deadly, 147.

DOLPHIN, Dauphin, 60.

DORESEELE, door-sil, 95.

DRIFT, purpose, aim, 56, 165, 187.

EACH-WHERE, everywhere, 162.
EFFECT, "in e," in the end, 51.
EMPAIR, make worse, 43, 117, 191.
EMPAIRING, decay, 105.
ENCOUNTER, meet together, 90.
ENDEARE, commend, justify, 152, 153.

ENDEARETH, enriches, fortifies, 127.
ENFEOFFED, established, 215; incorporated, 139.
ENFRANCHIZED AND GAINEFUL, free, frank, and profitable, 154.
ENSIGNE, mark or label, 72.
ENTERCAPRINGS, capering, dancing (M. confure), 138.
ENTER-KILL, kill one another, 83.
ENTER-RAILE, negotiations for an armistice, 35, 67.
ENTERPRISE, attempt, 158, 165, 166.
ENTERTAIN, stop, hinder, 68.
ENTERATED, treated, 3.
EPICICLES, in Ptolemaic astronomy

EPICICLES, in Ptolemaic astronomy the name given to small circles whose centres described larger circles, 236. Essav, "the e. of my studies fruit," i.e. the weighing and judging of the fruit of my studies, 86. ESTATE, state, 158, etc. ESTIMATION, good opinion of others, 3. ESTRIGES, ostriches, 131.

Exasperate, expound, declaim against, 24.

Explication, unfolding, exposition,

EXPLOIT, perform, 68, 157. EXQUISITE, tender, 133; perfect, 259, 262.

Eves, watchings, 89.

FACILITIE OF COMPLEXION, affability, 265.
FAINE, feign, portray, 9, 237; desirous, 159.
FAINED AND FOND, hypocritical, 16, 124.
FAMILIAR, personal, viii., 197, 261.
FARRE-FORTH, "so f.-f. as," so much as, viii.; far, 214.
FARRE, "so f.," so free, 134.
FATALLY, inevitably, 18.
FIERCE, proud, haughty, 4, etc.; eager, 211.
FILTHIE, heavy, 161.

FIT FOR HIM = belonged to him, 159. FLIM-FLAM, rubbishy, 201. FONDNES, foolishness, 28, etc. FOREPASSED, foregoing, 86. FORE-RUNNING, preceding, 173. FOREWENT, anticipated, 87. FORGERS, forge-workers, 138.

FORWARD VALOUR, promising valour, 95. FRAME, building, 253. FRIGHTFUL, affrighted, 82.

FRIZELINGS, curls, 238.

FUSTIAN, bombastic, 192.

GAINESAV, contradict, 136; fail, 254. GAINSTOOD, withstood, 2.

GENTLE AUDIENCE, patient a., 168. GENUITY, contexture, "of their own g.," i.e. because of their very

nature, 140.

GET, beget, 209. GIANT-LIKE, as a virago (M. hom-masse), 238.

GIBRISH, rubbish, 61, 193.

GLISTERS, clyster, injection, 129.

GLORIOUS, boastful, 75. GLOSSE, comment upon, 59.

GREAVES, armour for the legs, 146. GRETTY, B and C; crusty; pretty, A;

GUDGEONS, "to swallow g.," to be deceived, a gudgeon being a bait for some larger fish, 269.

HAIRE, "before the losing of his h.," i.e. before disease attacks him, 239. HALE, to drag, 8, etc.

HALS, market-places, town-halls, 258. HAMMES, hamstrings, 97.

HANSEL, to use for the first time, 125. HARDLY, barely, narrowly, 51, 158, 194; boldly, 216, 217, 226, 254.

HARDLY-RULED, difficult to control, 176.

HEEDY, competent, 172. HIS COMPLEXION, "its c." (i.e. the

mind's), 200.

HIS PARTI-COLOURED TRAILE, its p.-c. t., 155.

HOLBARD, halberd, an axe-like weapon, 141.

HOLDFASTS, seizures, 98; grasp, 46, 150. HOOD-WINCKT, blindfolded, 20, 117.

IMPEACH, hinder, 53, 69, 169. IMPERTINENTLY, inaptly (M. ineptement), 204. IMPLOYABLE, inflexible, 3.

IMPUTATION, in a bad sense, i.e. con-

tempt, 31, 182.

IN FARRE BETTER TERMES, on f. b. t., 48.

INGROSSE, increase, 222. INHIBIT, forbid, 8, 164. INKE-POT, pedantic; 193. IN RESPECT OF = in comparison with,

73, 238. INSENSIBLE OF, insensibly in, 229. INSTANTLY, urgently, 25, 38. Institution, education, 194, etc.

INTENT, intention, 51, etc.

JACK OUT OF DOORES, cp. Jack out of office, Shakes. 1 Hen. VI. i. 1. JADE, horse, 42. JOVISANCE, enjoyment, 89. JUMP WITH, agree with, 205.

KEYES OF FIELDS = power, 162. Kings (possessive), 75. KINGS EVILL, scrofula, 128.

LARVES, ghosts, masked beings, 79. LEAVE, forbear, 86, 127, 133. LECTURE, lesson, 234; reading, 221. LEG OR REVERENCE, bow, behaviour,

LETS, hindrances, 222.

LETTER-FERITS, letter-stricken men, pedants (O. Fr. férir, to strike), 192. LIBERTINE, manumitted slave, 169. LINNEN-FLOPS, short drawers, 20.

LIVELY, simply (Fr. naifve), 176; vividly, 11, etc.

LOT-POT, urn for shaking of lots of chance, 91. LULLABIE (verb), 91.

LUSTRES, adornments, 205.

MAINTAINING, justifying, 142. MANUTENTION, maintenance, 160.
MARTINELLA, "the name of a great common bell in Florence, which they ring out in times of warre or imminent danger" (Florio's Queen

Anna's New World of Words, 1611), 31. MECHANICALL, of mean occupation,

MEERE, completely, 21, 203; absolute, 30, 113.

MEERE FRENCH, only F., 206. MEERE STRENGTH, sheer s., 206. MEERE COURTIER, nothing but a Courtier, 224.
MERCEILLES, Marseilles, 67. MINGLE-MANGLE, confused mixture (M. is speaking of centos), 208. MOBILITY, changeability (A, inhability; M. bransle), 234. Monopolies, conspiracies, 180. MONUMENTS, medals, 219. MORTALL, deadly, 137, 175. MOTIVE, means, 84, 177, 234. MOTIVES OF ACCORD, overtures of peace, 29.

NAMELY, especially, 76, etc. NATIVE, naïve, natural, 139, 257. NEAREST, closely, 172. NICE, fastidious, 190, 245. NUZZLED, nursed, 220.

Mysterie, business (M. mestier). 197.

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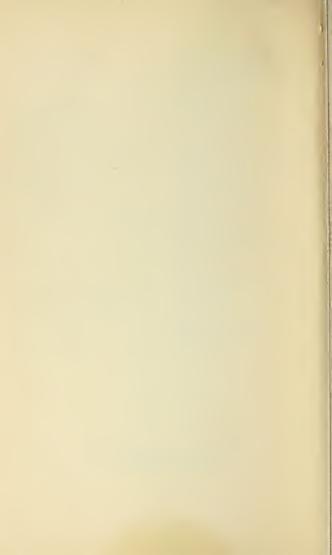
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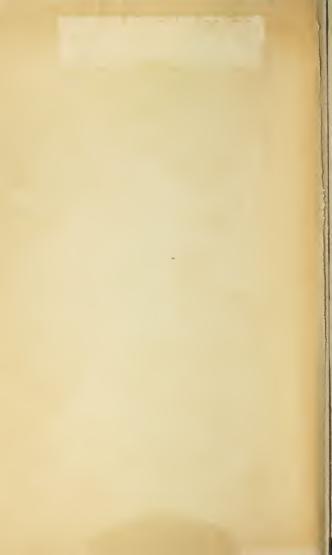
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